

# MUSICAL EXEGESIS: THE CAIN AND ABEL STORY IN REFORMATION EUROPE

BY

JASON STEWART SENCHINA

THESIS

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Master's Committee:

Professor Emeritus Tom Ward, Chair  
Professor Emeritus Chet Alwes

## ABSTRACT

One of the basic tenants of “new musicology” is that music forms within the context of its composer’s and performer’s surroundings. This is true for more pragmatic works because their function shapes their form. For liturgical works, the function of the work is key, but so are the established trends in thought concerning a given text, which are largely established in theological writings. This is true of the responsory “*Ubi est Abel*” as well, the text of which retells part of the Cain and Abel story. “*Ubi est Abel*” is the liturgical text with which this study is most concerned, and it seeks to answer the question: how did theology influence the production of polyphonic settings of “*Ubi est Abel*” in the second half of the sixteenth century.

To investigate this question requires an understanding of the ways in which people used the story of Cain and Abel during these fifty years. Its usage before this time is also pertinent to understanding conceptions of this story. While there are many potential avenues for research, the most promising of these are theological writings written by early theologians, such as Theophilus, and extending to those written by later ones, like Martin Luther.

The sixteenth century was a turbulent time within the church, ultimately leading to a second great schism in its congregation, the first being that between the Catholic and Orthodox churches. The movement that lead to the latter schism, now called the Protestant Reformation, also produced an overwhelming amount of religious publications. Reformer’s concern with the public’s understanding of religion<sup>1</sup> naturally lead to the production of materials which they intended to both inform and persuade the laity. Many of these materials are early types of propaganda, several of which include references to Cain and Able, making them essential to this

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<sup>1</sup> For more information, see Thomas A. Brady, Jr. “The Reformation of the Common Man, 1521-1524,” in *The German Reformation*, ed. by C. Scott Dixon (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999).

thesis. An understanding of sixteenth-century theory and compositional practices is also necessary for this discussion since music is the central focus of this study's question. While there are many more potential sources to guide one's understanding of theology's influence settings of "*Ubi est Abel*," those listed above provide the basis with which one can begin to understand influence on the composition of sacred music.

The question that lies at the center of this study is extremely specific in relation to the scope of music history. However, it takes a small step in an attempt to understand potential influences on composers during the Renaissance, and by extension, potential sources of influences over composers of all ages. This study does not answer these last two questions. More appropriate to the scope of this thesis, I argue that the "*Ubi est Abel*" settings it explores are strongly rooted in the thought and religious politics of the time.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ANF	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>
FC	Fathers of the Church
MLW	<i>Dr. Martin Luther Werke</i>
NJB	<i>New Jerusalem Bible</i>
NPF	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i>
PGL	<i>Patrologia Greaco-Latina</i>
PL	Patrologiae Latinae
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>

## PREFACE

The story of Cain and Abel is simple: one brother kills another. The fourth chapter of the Book of Genesis begins with the birth of Cain in the first verse, and the birth of his younger brother Abel in the second. The Bible tells us that Abel became a shepherd and Cain a husbandman (someone who works the land). Genesis 4:3-16 continues:

Time passed and Cain brought some of the produce of the soil as an offering for Yahweh, while Abel for his part brought the first-born of his flock and some of their fat as well. Yahweh looked with favour on Abel and his offering. But he did not look with favour on Cain and his offering, and Cain was very angry and downcast. Yahweh asked Cain, 'Why are you angry and downcast? If you are doing right surely you ought to hold your head high! But if you are not doing right, Sin is crouching at the door hungry to get you. You can master him.' Cain said to his brother Abel, 'Let us go out'; and while they were in the open country, Cain set on his brother Abel and killed him.

Yahweh asked Cain, 'Where is your brother Abel?' 'I do not know,' he replied. 'Am I my brother's guardian?' 'What have you done?' Yahweh asked. 'Listen! Your brother's blood is crying out to me from the ground. Now be cursed and banned from the ground that has opened its mouth to receive your brother's blood at your hands. When you till the ground it will no longer yield up its strength to you. A restless wanderer you will be on earth.' Cain then said to Yahweh, 'My punishment is greater than I can bear. Look, today you drive me from the surface of the earth. I must hide from you, and be a restless wanderer on earth. Why, whoever comes across me will kill me!' 'Very well, then,' Yahweh replied, 'whoever kills Cain will suffer a sevenfold vengeance.' So Yahweh put a mark on Cain, so that no one coming across him would kill him. Cain left Yahweh's presence and settled in the land of Nod, east of Eden.<sup>1</sup>

The account is seemingly clear. However, like many Biblical stories, there are many gaps. It is these gaps that allow for further discussion by theologians and other commentators. Many of these questions are basic. How much time passed before Cain brought his sacrifice to God? Was

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<sup>1</sup> Genesis 4:3-16, 4 (New Jerusalem Bible) (NJB). See Appendix I for original text under: Vulgate.

the cry of Abel's blood audible? While theologians' questions are not typically this simplistic, they ask many similar questions of the Biblical passages they explore.

Despite the nature of this ancient narrative—or perhaps because of it—authors and composers have developed a wide range of understandings of what people can learn from the Biblical account of the two first brothers. All of the writings attempting to reveal the moral truths underpinning this story fall under the category of exegesis, which is the explanation or exposition of (typically) Scriptural text.<sup>2</sup> Throughout each of these multivalent interpretations, themes reoccur in works from the earliest Christian writers to those of the current day, such as John Steinbeck's *East of Eden*.<sup>3</sup> While exegetical themes may develop within a given genre of communication, such as theology or propaganda, we may consider that the authors producing such works were exposed to many cultural influences. Martin Luther is an excellent example of such exposure. As a monk he was a scholar of both the Bible and the Church Fathers. He later established the principal ideas that lead to Protestantism, produced many popular publications for mass consumption, and he also was a composer and was generally well-informed about music.<sup>4</sup> Although Luther may represent an extreme case of how people may be involved in numerous aspects of culture simultaneously, both producers and consumers of published materials are also likely to be familiar with many varieties of cultural expression. This being the case, one might conclude that these different forms of expression could likewise influence other forms. Because no single form of expression exists in isolation, we might consider that each form is distinguished by porous barriers that allow for the movement and influence of ideas between

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<sup>2</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), s.v. "exegesis."

<sup>3</sup> While Steinbeck's is a novel rather than a work of exegesis *per se*, many of the themes throughout the book parallel themes that theologians have discussed for centuries.

<sup>4</sup> Luther established the hymn as the central genre of music for Protestant worship and helped redefine the composition of the entire genre. Theodore Hoelty-Nickel, "Luther and Music," in *Luther and Culture* (Decorah, IA: Luther College Press, 1960), 163.

them, rather than the restrictions of solid walls. Thus, one might conclude that each of these varied forms of expression influenced any number of other coexistent forms. If so, themes produced in theology or propaganda are not exclusive to these types of works and can affect the production of music by composers. One may expect this to be true of works focusing on a myriad of subjects, including those addressing the story of Cain and Abel.

To explore the potential movement of ideas between genres, this study makes several assumptions. One is that any published or professionally produced work is a public act, and therefore any ideas or interpretations of the Bible that the work expresses are done so to its audience. This is also true of works performed in public or repeatedly performed for different groups of people. As was often the case regarding propagandistic material, the author or composer may have been anonymous. Moreover, the audience may only represent a certain demographic of the public. Since publication makes the writing of these works public acts, interpretations found within them generally conform to common ideas. The explanations of Cain's and Abel's story expressed in these works may have been novel, but authors nevertheless relied on conventional ideas and idioms to communicate their messages. If an author wanted to sway the public in order to change their opinion, then he or she must necessarily utilize logic, ideas, and images that were familiar to the public in order to communicate and rationalize her or his new idea. Furthermore, preservation of these interpretive works in further publications results from the work's general acceptance by the public. By no means does this imply that all beliefs embodied in artistic works were normative for the time and place of their production. It does suggest that the survival of these works implies that the beliefs expressed within were generally accepted. Given the religious politics of the period, it would be unlikely that any art promoting

heretical beliefs would remain extant unless someone took great risk to preserve it. If the patronage of the creator is known, one may also assume that the ideas expressed within the work did not overtly challenge the ideas of the composer's patron, unless there is reason to believe otherwise.

In exploring the dissemination of ideas, one must also consider how artists express ideas. This study assumes that each artistic mode use certain methods to communicate meaning. For instance, early theological writings communicated meaning through rhetoric, allusions and scholastic logic. Similarly, composers communicated meaning through manipulating musical characteristics such as text-setting, melodic shape, and texture. In each case—theological exegesis and musical composition—one is left with only a fragment of the work. In the case of music, all that survives is the physical score and which represents only part of musicians performance of the music. Equally, all printed materials lack the cultural and intertextual information its readers contemporaneous to the author would have known. Much of this information would have been bound up in the culture of the author and has since been lost from the historical record. Regardless of the artistic mode a person chose to use, the more deeply one wishes to analyze these types of works, the greater amount of contextual information one needs.

Accepting that many of the interpretations in these works exist implicitly, someone investigating these works must determine how best to explicate implied meaning. This is necessary for semantically poor forms of communication, such as music. Examining a work without contextualization would lead to an analysis which reflects the analyst's own disposition. Although this problem can never be entirely avoided, the inclusion of more explicit interpretations can help to inform the investigation of a work. This study explores many

interpretations with which sixteenth-century authors and composers might have been familiar. The works whose meanings are more explicit within the text are explored first. Thereafter, this study focuses on works that are reliant on the listener having more preexisting knowledge. In general, the presence of music leads to a greater number of potential interpretation of meaning whereas language is readily comprehensible and have fewer possible interpretations. As such, this study begins with works by theologians who communicate ideas through the use of words and logic. Propaganda follows in this discussion as its authors mostly rely on text for communication,<sup>5</sup> but also relies on poetry. The last genre this discussion explores is music, because it is an artistic form that relies on signs that do not have defined semantic meanings which makes language an effective tool for precise communication.

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<sup>5</sup> Although propaganda did sometimes include music, only the texts have been explored for reasons explained below in Chapter 2.

## CHAPTER 1: THEOLOGICAL WRITINGS CONCERNING CAIN AND ABEL

The first five hundred years of the Christian church's history includes many theologians whose writings have had long-lasting influences on the later development of Christian theology. Among the works of these early Christian theologians one can find many themes of exegesis, some of which continue to the modern era. While the Biblical story of the first two brothers, Cain (the first-born) and Abel (the youngest), is not the most common topic of discussion, many prominent early Christian commentators address issues in the brother's story extensively. The exegetes who are incorporated into the following discussion include: Theophilus of Antioch (d. 181 CE), Clement of Alexandria (c. 150-c. 215 CE), Tertullian (160-c. 220 CE), Origen (c. 185-254 CE), Commodianus (fl. between 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century CE), St. Methodius of Olympus (d. 311 CE), St. Ambrose (339-397 CE) and St. Augustin of Hippo (354-430 CE).

Typological arguments are at the focus of these writer's works during discussions of Cain and Abel. Typology, as defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, is "the study of symbolic representation, especially of the origin and meaning of Scripture types."<sup>1</sup> This dictionary defines type as something "by which something [else] is symbolized or figured; anything having a symbolical signification; a symbol, emblem; specifically in Theology [it is] a person, object or event of Old Testament history, prefiguring some person or thing revealed in the new dispensation" and is "correlative to antitype."<sup>2</sup> In the case of Cain and Abel, the type is almost always one of the brothers.

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<sup>1</sup> OED, s.v. typology.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, s.v. type.

Early theologians discerned prefigurations of Christ's sacrifice in the personalities of both brothers. Prefiguration is a specific kind of typological relationship in which a person foreshadows the existence of another. For the elder brother, the church fathers often connected Cain with various non-Christian groups, most frequently the Jews. Tertullian's *An Answer to the Jews* relates Cain to the Children of Israel. It should also be noted that Tertullian did not interpret Abel christologically, but rather as a representation of all Christians. He explains these links through Cain and Abel's relationship: "from the beginning the earthly were foreshown, in the person of Cain, to be those of the 'elder son,' that is, of Israel; and the opposite sacrifices demonstrated to be those of the 'younger son,' Abel, that is, of *our* people."<sup>3</sup> Commodianus' connection is similar but does open the character of Cain to symbolize all non-Christians, specifically, every person who does not accept Christ's death as the means to salvation. In *The Instructions of Commodianus in Favour of Christian Discipline, Against the Gods of the Heathens*, Commodianus writes:

Cain slew his younger brother by the invention of wickedness. Thence the sons of Enoch are said to be the race of Cain. Then the evil people increased in the world, which never transfers souls to God. To believe the cross came to be a dread, and they say that they live righteously. [...] They are unwilling to acknowledge the Lord pierced with nails; but when His judgment shall come, they will then discern Him. But the race of Abel already believes on a merciful Christ.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Tertullian, "An Answer to the Jews," in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (ANF) vol. 3, ed. A Cleveland Coxe (Peabody MS: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 156. "*Et quidem a primordio majoris filii, id est Israel, terrena fuisse in Cain praeostensa sacrificia; et minoris filii Abel, id est populi nostri, sacrificia diversa demonstrata.*" Tertullian, "Liber Adversus Judaeos," in *Patrologiae Latinae* (PL) vol. 2., ed. by J. P. Migne (Rotterdam, Holland: Soc. Editr. de Forel, 1952), 607.

<sup>4</sup> Commodianus, "Instructions of Commodianus in Favour of Christian Discipline, Against the Gods of the Heathens," in ANF vol. 4, ed. A Cleveland Coxe (Peabody MS: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 210. See Appendix I for original text under: Fathers of the Church. Commodianus. *The Instructions of Commodianus*. XXXVI. "Of the foolishness of the cross."



For both theologians, Cain became a clear sign of the Jews, representing how Christians should view and treat them. This is one of the oldest trends in thought concerning the brothers, one which later Reformers adapted and used to their ideological advantage.

Theologians writing after Tertullian and Origen tended to see Abel as a specific Christological symbol rather than a generic representation of Christians. Embedded in the second chapter<sup>5</sup> of *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins or Concerning Chastity*, Methodius envisions Abel's life as a prefiguration of Christ's rather than the body of the people who have faith in Him. This scene depicts several Christian virgins reciting a hymn about the salvation of humankind. The chorus repeats the refrain: "I keep myself pure for Thee, O Bridegroom, and holding a lighted torch I go to meet thee."<sup>6</sup> The hymn verses describe various events or qualities connected to Christ's crucifixion and judgment during His second coming. One verse mentions Abel, associating his death with Christ's: "Abel, clearly prefiguring Thy death, O blessed One, with flowing blood, and eyes lifted up to Heaven, said, Cruelly slain by a brother's hand, O Word, I pray Thee to receive me."<sup>7</sup> Abel's plea to God at the time of his murder is not part of the biblical narrative, but embellishes the Genesis account to make it a clear prefiguration of Christ's final moments. Though not as explicit as the works by Tertullian and Origen, Methodius also villainizes Jews. After establishing that Abel's death shares many traits with Christ's, he adds that both were "cruelly slain by a brother's hand,"<sup>8</sup> clearly indicating the Jews served the same role in

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<sup>5</sup> Methodius, "Banquet of the Ten Virgins; or, Concerning Chastity," in ANF vol. 6, ed. A Cleveland Coxe (Peabody MS: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 351

<sup>6</sup> *Idem*, 351. "Ἀγνεύω σοι, καὶ λαμπάδας φαισφόρους κρατῶσα, Νυμφιε, ὑπαντάνω σοι." Methodius, "Συμποσιον Των Δεκα Παρθενων," in *Patrologia Graeco-Latina* (PGL) vol. 18, ed. by J. P. Migne (Paris: Excudebatur, 1862), 208.

<sup>7</sup> *Idem*, 352. "Λαμπρῶς σου τὸν θάνατον Ἀβελ προεκτυπῶν, Μάκαρ, ἔλεξεν αἱματοσταγῆς βλέπων εἰς ἄθους Ἀνηλεῶς με συγγόνου τετρωμένον χειρὶ δέξαι, λιτάζομαι, Λόγε." *Idem*, 209.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

Christ's death as Cain did in Abel's. This passage also shows that a shift to connect Abel to Christ either had, or was, occurring.

An entire work on the brothers by Saint Ambrose called *Cain and Abel* further strengthens these associations. His understanding of this Genesis story involves Tertullian's older-younger brother relationship, but creates a stronger typological connection by reminding his readers that Jesus was a Jew by birth. In the second chapter, beginning with a quote from Genesis 25:23, Ambrose writes:

‘Two nations are in your womb; two peoples stem from your body.’ These two brothers, Cain and Abel, have furnished us with the prototype of the Synagogue and the Church. In Cain we perceive the parricidal people of the Jews, who were stained with the blood of their Lord, their Creator, and, as a result of the childbearing of the Virgin Mary, their Brother, also.<sup>9</sup>

Ambrose portrays the bitter feelings Christians have displayed towards Jews through much of history when he finalizes this typological link—Jews are like Cain in that they killed their younger brother, Christ. His interpretations also connect with Augustin's, particularly with those found in *The City of God*, one of his most famous works.

Augustin connects the Jews with Cain and Christ with Abel on numerous levels. In the One Hundred and First Letter of Augustin from the first volume *Nicene and Post-Nicene Church Fathers Anthology* entitled “To Deogratias, My Brother in All Sincerity, and My Fellow-Presbyter, Augustin Sends Greeting in the Lord,” Augustin argues that the fault Jews found in Christians worship is comparable to Cain's contempt for Abel. A contempt that he argues sprang from Cain's disapproval of Abel's sacrifice and the attention it received from God From this feeling of being slighted, Cain was prompted to murder his brother. In his *Expositions on the*

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<sup>9</sup> Ambrose, “Cain and Abel,” in *Fathers of the Church* (FC) vol. 42, ed. John J. Savage (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1961), 362. See Appendix I for original text under: Fathers of the Church. Ambrose. *Of Cain and Abel*. Book 1. Chapter II.

*Book of Psalms*, Augustin creates an elaborate metaphor between the death of Abel and Christ. In his commentary on the eighth Psalm, Augustin explains:

For the field is also “the broad way, that leadeth to destruction:” and in a field is Abel slain. Wherefore there is cause to fear, lest one coming down from the mountains of God’s righteousness (“for thy righteousness,” he says, “is as the mountains of God”) making choice of the broad and easy paths of carnal pleasure, be slain by the devil.<sup>10</sup>

Augustin makes three connections. The first is between the field in which Abel was slain and Christ’s crucifixion in a field. He adds to this the image of the human soul as a lost sheep who wandered from the mountains into the fields below. Finally, he connects the choice that all people have in sin as the sheep’s descent to the field, a choice which lead in the death of Christ and Abel. Augustin elaborates further:

For if we take the one lost sheep to be the human soul in Adam, since Eve even was made out of his side, for the spiritual handling and consideration of all which things this is not the time, it remains that, by the ninety and nine left in the mountains, spirits not human, but angelical, should be meant.<sup>11</sup>

Thus Christ died in the field to bring back the sheep, the entire christian community. Though repeating the same basic connection between Christ and Abel as many theologians before, Augustin creates more links tying these two figures together in an attempt to further legitimate this typological relationship.

Later, when examining the Fortieth Psalm, Augustin compares the Law of the Jewish people to the mark that was given to Cain when he was sent away from his parents: “Let the Jewish nation at this time show me their priest, if they can! Where are their sacrifices? [...] like

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<sup>10</sup> Augustin, “Expositions on the Book of Psalms,” in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (NPF) vol. 8 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 31. See Appendix I for original text under: Fathers of the Church. Augustin. *Commentary on the Psalms*. Psalm VIII. Chapter XIII.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* See Appendix I for original text under: Fathers of the Church. Augustin. *Commentary on the Psalms*. Psalm VIII. Chapter XII.

Cain with his mark.”<sup>12</sup> Further examples appear in Augustin’s *Anti-Manichaeae Writings*. In the tenth section of the twelfth book, he correlates Cain’s denial of any knowledge of his brother’s whereabouts to the Jews’ denial of knowing the Messiah after he had already come. Increasing this anti-semitic sentiment, Augustin says that the voice of Christ’s blood calls to Christians to affirm their faith, just as Abel’s blood calls to God for vengeance. In other works, Augustin details more similarities between Cain and his perception of Jews. Of the many church fathers, Augustin’s rhetoric is the most vehemently anti-semitic, a position he buttresses by citing details of the Cain and Abel story. The strongest is the story’s dichotomy between a devout protagonist and an evil antagonist. Almost any young group wishing to vilify a preexistent *other* can easily co-opt this story to support their cause.

Augustin also outlines many ways in which Abel’s life and death parallel Christ’s. In the twelfth book of his *Anti-Manichaeae Writings*, Augustin explains that Christians need not make sacrifices to God because Christ’s suffering was sufficient sacrifice for all Christians. Just as the sacrifice of Christ’s body was “offered by the one true Priest” to “the one true God,” the first biblical sacrifice was made with flesh by Abel to God.<sup>13</sup> Augustin draws a similar parallel between Adam, the source of original sin, and, Abel the first righteous man.<sup>14</sup> Amongst all of the early Church Fathers, Augustin most fully elaborates Abel’s connection with Christ and Cain with the Jews. As other writers before him, he added lesser known biblical figures to further strengthen the prefiguration of Christ’s death in the book of Genesis.

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<sup>12</sup> Augustin, “Expositions of the Book of Psalms,” 124. “*Det mihi modo gens judaica sacerdotem. Ubi sunt sacrificia illorum?*” Augustin, “Enarrationes in Psalmos,” in PL vol. 36, ed. by J. P. Migne (Rotterdam, Holland: Soc. Editr. de Forel, 1952), 442. NPF notes that there is a difference in division between their edition and the PL’s.

<sup>13</sup> Augustin, “Anti-Manichaeae Writings,” NPF vol. 4 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 277. “*Hic ego de vero sacrificio latius fortasse disserens, demonstrarem id non deberi nisi uni vero Deo, quod ei unus verus Sacerdos obtulit, Mediator Dei et hominum.*” Augustin, “Contra Faustum Manichæum,” in PL vol. 42., ed. by J. P. Migne (Rotterdam, Holland: Soc. Editr. de Forel, 1952), 409.

<sup>14</sup> Augustin, “Anti-Pelegian Writings,” in NPF vol. 5 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 124.

One such figure is Cain's and Abel's lesser known brother, Seth, who theologians have also incorporated into their typological works. Origen incorporates Seth into his *Commentary on John* by contrasting John's account of Jesus's resurrection with the book of Genesis. Though not directly citing Seth, Origen writes: "As for the text in Genesis about the resurrection, the churchman will rejoin with a text to an opposite effect, 'God hath raised up for me another seed in place of Abel whom Cain slew;' showing that the resurrection occurs in Genesis."<sup>15</sup> The passage to which he refers is Genesis 4:25, in which Adam gives his rationale for giving Seth his name (because this is the son God had given him to replace the one Cain murdered).

Augustin also uses Seth as a symbol of resurrection. In his *City of God* Augustin described two types of cities: one of the world and the second "of the righteous." According to Augustin, Cain and his bloodline were the ancestors of the first city, while Seth was the father of the second. Augustin reasons that Abel's name meant grief, while Seth's would come to represent resurrection (citing the same passage previously used by Origen, Genesis 4:25). This reasoning follows Augustinian and Origenian ideology. Since Seth's existence anticipates Christ's second coming by representing the resurrection of Abel and, therefore acts as the beginning of the holy city of God on Earth.<sup>16</sup> The importance that Augustin bestows upon Seth is conspicuous because of his brief mention in Genesis, which affords only a few pieces of information.<sup>17</sup> In Augustin's work however, Seth plays a prominent role: as the ancestor of all those who are saved through Christ.

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<sup>15</sup> Origen, "Commentary on John," in ANF vol. 9 (Peabody MS: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 356. "Καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῇ Γενέσει | δὲ περὶ τῇ ἐξανάστασεως ἀπαντήσεται ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς χρώμενος τῷ « Ἐξανέστησε γάρ μοι ὁ θεὸς σπέρμα ἕτερον ἀντὶ Ἀβελ, ὃν ἀπέκτεινε Κάϊν » τῆς ἐξανάστασεως καὶ ἐπὶ γενέσεος κειμέως." Origène, *Commentaire sur S. Jean* vol. 2, ed. by Cécile Blanc (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1970), 180.

<sup>16</sup> Augustin, "City of God," in NPF vol. 2 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 237-38.

<sup>17</sup> Genesis 4:25-26, 5:6-8.

Typological discussions are the most common by a large margin when theologians discuss the Cain and Abel story. Though some discussions involving the first brothers served to teach practical lessons. Several early theologians use the Cain and Abel story to address tithing, or the act of giving offerings to the church, a critical fiscal issue in the continuation of the church as an institution. The account of Cain and Abel's tithe to God in the form of a sacrifice is found in Genesis 4:3-7.<sup>18</sup> The Biblical narrative leaves a gap in the reader's understanding: why was Abel's sacrifice accepted and deemed worthy in the eyes of God, but not Cain's? Clement expands on this story to answer that crucial question in his first letter to the Corinthians. In this version, after God asks why Cain is angry, He asks Cain: "If thou offerest rightly, but dost not divide rightly, hast thou not sinned?"<sup>19</sup> Clement deviates from the Biblical account by adding the concept of dividing rightly. In the original account, God says that if Cain does as he should there is no reason for him to be grieved.<sup>20</sup> This idea of correctly dividing the goods between what one sacrifices and what one keeps is key to understanding many theologian's interpretations of this passage. In his *Apologetic*, Tertullian argued that Abel's sacrifice was accepted because it was made "in simplicity of heart," conversely Cain's sacrifice was not because he did "not rightly divid[e] what he was offering."<sup>21</sup>

In an appendix to Tertullian's titled *Genesis*,<sup>22</sup> an anonymous author provides an extended version of the story which gives greater detail into each brother's sacrifice: "The elder one /

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<sup>18</sup> See Appendix I for the Vulgate translation under: Vulgate.

<sup>19</sup> Clement, "The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians," in ANF vol. 1, ed. A Cleveland Coxe (Peabody MS: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 6. "οὐκ ἔαν ὀρθῶς προθῶς προσενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἡμαρτεας; ἢ σὺ χάσον; πρὸς σὲ ἢ ἀποστροφὴ αὐτοῦ;" Clementis Romani, *Clementis Romani Epistulae*, ed by A. Hilgenfeld (Lipsiae: T. O. Weigel, 1876), 8.

<sup>20</sup> Genesis 4:7.

<sup>21</sup> Tertullian, "Liber Adversus Judæos," 153. "*accepta ferens quæ offerebat in simplicitate cordis [...] Cain, qui non offerebat, non recte dividebat.*" 4\*

<sup>22</sup> J. P. Migne, *Patrologiæ Latinæ* Volume 2 (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1878), 1105-1108.

Offered the first-fruits of the fertile glebes: / The other pays his vows with gentle lamb, / Bearing in hand the entrails pure, and fat / Snow-white; and to the Lord, who pious vows / Beholds, is instantly acceptable.”<sup>23</sup> In this new version of the story, the difference between the sacrifices was not how each brother divided their offering, because both offered the best that they grew. Abel’s was accepted because of his “pious vows.” This difference is reflected in God’s discussion with Cain of why God did not accept his sacrifice: “Tell Me, if thou live rightly, and discern / Things hurtful, couldst thou not then pass thine age / Pure from contracted guilt? Cease to essay / With gnawing sense thy brother’s ruin.”<sup>24</sup> According to this author, God is more concerned with the character of the person offering rather than any of the details concerning the physical offering.

Ambrose’s interpretation of this story is slightly different, Cain had made “a twofold error: first that his offering came after a period of time, and second, that it was composed of fruits of the ground. Again, the offering was not the first fruits.”<sup>25</sup> The first of these reasons is similar to Clement’s argument regarding the material of the sacrifice and follows the Biblical story more closely. The Bible mentions what each of the men sacrificed and mentions neither the quality of Cain’s sacrifice, only of Abel’s (which we are told is the first-born of his flock, “*primogenitis gregis*”), nor of the timelines with which each brother made his sacrifice. Ambrose augments these two sins, writing that:

There is a third category of error which is of lesser import, but comparable because of its arrogance. We have reference to those who actually do not deny that God is the giver of good things, yet are of the opinion that they have obtained them as a result of their adherence to prudence and to the other virtues. Wherefore

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<sup>23</sup> “Genesis,” in ANF vol. 4 (Peabody MS: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 134-35. See Appendix I for original text under: Anonymous. *Genesis*.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* See Appendix I for original text under: Anonymous. *Genesis*.

<sup>25</sup> Ambrose, “Cain and Abel,” 383. “*Duplex culpa: una quod post dies obtulit, altera quod ex fructibus, non ex primis fructibus. Sacrificium autem et celeritate commendatur et gratia.*” Ambrose, “De Cain et Abel Liber Primus,” in PL vol. 14, ed. by J. P. Migne (Rotterdam, Holland: Soc. Editr. de Forel, 1952), 329.

they believe that they are deserving of divine grace, inasmuch as it appears that they are by no means unworthy of such merits from God's beneficence.<sup>26</sup>

According to Ambrose, Cain believed that God gave good things because the recipient had earned them. Ambrose takes this opportunity to remind his readers that what gifts people receive are received only by grace. Ambrose's contemporary, Augustin, agrees, though he is less specific. After giving a list of potential wrongs Cain could have committed, Augustin states that Cain's sacrifice was unsuccessful because Cain did not truly give himself to God, which is the purpose of sacrifice. Augustin adds to this discourse, stating that: "The truth is, that a sacrifice is "rightly offered" when it is offered to the true God, to whom alone we must sacrifice."<sup>27</sup> Though not identifying a specific cause, Augustin tells his reader that Cain had many faults and any one of them could be the reason why he, and as a result the Jews after Christ's death, were cursed by God.

In Genesis, after Cain kills his brother, God comes to him and asks where Abel is. The responsory texts to be discussed later Chapter Three quote this material almost verbatim. Although lengthy discussion of this passage in Patristic writings was not as common as the themes described above, there are two theologians who discuss this particular passage: Theophilus and Origen. Both seek to answer the question of why God, who is omnipotent, would ask Cain where his brother was when God would have already known the answer to the question. Theophilus addresses this puzzle in "Cain's Crime," chapter 29 of his letter to Autolycus. Theophilus explains that God comes to Cain out of pity, "and wishing to afford to Cain, as to

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<sup>26</sup> *Idem*, 384. See Appendix I for original text under: Fathers of the Church. Ambrose. *Of Cain and Abel*. Book 1. Chapter VII.

<sup>27</sup> Augustin, "The City of God," 288. "*Recte quippe offertur sacrificium, cum offertur Deo uero, cui uni tantummodo sacrificandum est.*" Augustini, *Augustini episcopi De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. by Domart (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1981), 68.



Adam, an opportunity of repentance and confession, sa[ying] ‘Where is Abel thy brother?’ ”<sup>28</sup> In the case of Adam and Cain, God shows patience and gives the sinner a chance to confess, only showing his anger if the sinner is not honest. Origen agrees, though he uses a different point of entry. Origen explains why Christ rhetorically uses questions to teach in “The Disciples as Scribes” from his *Commentary on Matthew*. Origen explains that Jesus, as God before him, asks “the question not as one ignorant, but having once for all taken upon Him the nature of man, He uses also all the characteristics of a man which ‘asking’ is one.”<sup>29</sup> Jesus asks questions to reflect the way in which people communicate and thus have themselves interpreted God’s words, not because He needs explanation. He then compares Jesus’s words with God’s in Genesis in the cases of Adam and Cain.<sup>30</sup> Though Origen did not attempting to explain why God asked Cain where Abel was, he explains to his audience that God asks questions because it is an effective way for Him to communicate with people.

Early theologians also used the Cain and Abel story to support church beliefs. Some topics, like tithing, are less popular, most theologians address Cain and Abel as types for Jews and Christ (or Christians). Not only does this add credibility to the Christian faith by showing that Christ and His redemptive death was predicted millennia earlier, it also provides further rational for the anti-semitic sentiment common to the time.

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<sup>28</sup> Theophilus, “Theophilus to Autolycus,” in ANF vol. 2, ed. A Cleveland Coxe (Peabody MS: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 105-106. “καὶ ἐξομολογήσεως παρμὴν τῷ Κάιν, καθάπερ καὶ τῷ Ἀδὰμ, εἶπε· πῶ Ἀζελ ὁ ἀδελφός σου.” Theophili Episcopi Antiocheni. *Libri III Ad Autolycum* (Hamburg: Theod. Christoph. Felginer, 1774), 198. The two versions of the text are divided differently, with chapter twenty-nine in the English version being equivalent to chapter forty in the Greek.

<sup>29</sup> Origen, “Commentary on Matthew,” in ANF vol. 9 (Peabody MS: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 421. “οὐκ ἄγνοῶν ἐρωτᾷ, ἀλλ’ ἅπαξ ἀναλαβὼν ἀνθρωπὸν χρήται καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ποιεῖ, ὥν ἐν καὶ τὸ ἐρωτᾷν.” Origène, *Commentaire sur l’Évangile Selon Matthieu* vol. 1 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1970), 194.

<sup>30</sup> The first where God asks “Adam, where are you” and the second when He asks Cain, “where is your brother.” *Ibid.* “« Ἀδὰμ, ποῦ εἶ ; » καὶ· « Ἡοῦ ἐστιν Ἄβελ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ; »” *Ibid.*

In the sixteenth century, Protestants found new uses for older themes, many of which were prevalent in the works of the once-Catholic Martin Luther. Luther was a prolific writer and used this short story from Genesis several times in his writings. Not surprisingly, his *Lectures on Genesis* contains a greater amount of discussion about the first brothers than his other works. Luther gives a significant amount of attention to the chapter that contains Cain and Abel's story. In this work, Luther rejects allegorical interpretations of Moses' history. He explicitly rejects many theologians who sought to interpret the book of Genesis, saying:

Since the majority of the interpreters did not concern themselves with [the text in Genesis] but attached greater importance to Origen, Dionysius, and others than to Moses himself, it is no wonder that they went astray. The chapters which now follow are less subject to debate and are clearer. Moreover, they support our conviction; for nobody can fail to see that Moses does not intend to present allegories but simply to write the history of the primitive world.<sup>31</sup>

Luther made exceptions for some early authors, including Augustin,<sup>32</sup> echoing *The City of God* within his own work. His stance on earlier exegetes implies that he would differ from many of the Church Fathers on how to interpret text. Several ideas in Luther's writings differ from interpretations accepted by the Catholic church, though many maintain the interpretations originated by earlier theologians. Luther acknowledged that there was room for interpretation, stating that Moses used only "few words [to] suggest a great profusion of situations."<sup>33</sup> It is because of these intentional gaps created by Moses that these stories remain germane throughout time for believers during many different occasions. Luther used this concept to explain why he

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<sup>31</sup> Martin Luther, "Lectures on Genesis," in *55-Volume American Edition Luther's Works on CD-ROM*, ed. by Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann (Fortress Press, 2002), 4 Introduction. See Appendix I for original text under: Martin Luther. *Lectures on Genesis*. Chapter 4 Introduction.

<sup>32</sup> Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2001), 41, 85.

<sup>33</sup> *Idem*, 4.9. "*paucis verbis magnam Argumentorum eopiam ostendit.*" Martin Luther, "Text der Genesisvorlesung," *D. Martin Luthers Werke* vol. 42 (Weimar, Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger), 206

believed that the Cain and Abel story was relevant to an understanding of religious politics in Reformation Europe.

In Luther's view of Cain and Abel, God did not ask Cain where Abel was himself, but did so through Cain's father: Adam. God used Adam to give Cain a final chance to return to a godly life. If God had approached Cain personally, Cain would not have lied because he would know God already knew that Abel was dead. Instead, allowing Adam to serve as judge gave Cain the choice to lie or tell the truth, the latter gave Cain the chance to repent before God sentenced him for his crime. Cain's choice to lie to his father was the lynch-pin to his downfall.

He justifies the Bible's account by reasoning that "although Adam spoke these words to his son, he nevertheless spoke by divine authority and by the Holy Spirit."<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, it was the Holy Spirit which inspired Adam to notice Abel's absence and ask his elder son where the younger was.<sup>35</sup> Luther believes that it is important that God inspired Adam to ask this question rather than accuse Cain of the act immediately. Adam's question allowed Cain a chance to confess his sin. The opportunity for Cain to confess comes from God's desire to have prodigal sons and daughters return to him, a concept about which Luther agrees with Theophilus.<sup>36</sup> For this same reason, Luther believes that God delayed Cain's judgment, giving him a chance to repent.<sup>37</sup>

The specific choice of a question was also important in that it gave Cain the chance to a fair trial:

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<sup>34</sup> *Idem*, 4.9 "*etsi Adam haec cum Filio locutus est, tamen auctoritate divina et etiam ex Spiritu sancto est locutus.*" *Idem*, 204.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Theophilus, "Theophilus to Autolycus," 105-106.

<sup>37</sup> Martin Luther, "Lectures on Genesis," 4.10.

The jurists, too, have made use of this passage and have dealt with it very respectfully because, before the Lord declares guilt, He inquires into the case.<sup>42</sup> From this they draw the application that no one should be declared guilty until the case has been investigated and unless he has first been given a summons, has confessed, and has been found guilty. The Lord did the same thing also in Adam's case (Gen. 3:9): "And He called Adam and said: 'Where are you?'" And also in chapter 11 (v. 5): "the Lord descended to see."<sup>38</sup>

Luther's statement is rife with secondary motives, reflecting instances when the Catholics sentenced Reformers, or anyone that questioned Catholic doctrine, without a trial. Cain's fervent denial was the proof that Adam needed and was also the culmination of his growing list of sins. Just as all who had sought to understand the Cain and Abel story before him, Luther wanted his audience to understand how Cain had sinned. He did this by forming a series of sins, which he superimposes over the Cain and Abel story, adding exegesis of what lead to Cain's final sin: murder. Luther's series begins with Cain's privileged upbringing, a result of his being the first born, which lead him to be arrogant and to disbelieve God's power. Earlier in this work, Luther describes how Cain's privilege as first-born lead him to envy his younger brother who was less appreciated by his parents. Luther finds that Cain's jealousy of his brother Abel starts with God's acceptance of Abel's sacrifice. The theologian explains that God did not accept Cain's sacrifice because Cain did not use good grain in his sacrifice and did not keep God's Word in his heart during his sacrifice.<sup>39</sup> The series continues with: envy and hatred, hypocrisy and lying, murder, and ending with the denial of previous sins.<sup>40</sup> Luther creates a slippery slope, starting with jealousy and ending in murder.

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<sup>38</sup> *Idem*, 4.9.

<sup>39</sup> *Idem*, 4.3.

<sup>40</sup> Luther lists Cain's sins in the following order: arrogance and unbelief, pride, envy and hatred, hypocrisy and lying and finally murder. *Idem*, 4.9.

Denial becomes essential to many of Luther's arguments. For Luther, direct denial of his transgression make Cain's sin more severe than Adam's and Eve's.<sup>41</sup> Denial also makes Cain's guiltiness more obvious. Cain's attempt to excuse himself from any responsibility for Abel (In the Fourth Chapter of Genesis when he says "I do not know. Am I my brother's keeper?") actually serves as a confession. His excuse unintentionally acknowledges that he should both know where his brother is and that he in fact does. Luther finds Cain's response even more defiant in that it demonstrates no respect for authority.<sup>42</sup> Luther uses this reasoning to say that it is best to confess: "for truly when sin is disclaimed, sin is doubled, while a free confession of sin obtains mercy and overcomes wrath." For this reason, Luther believes that one is to confess one's sins directly to God, because God will forgive those who confess and repent. Cain illustrates that a person who sins and denies his sins will live a cursed life, constantly pursued by God's wrath.<sup>43</sup>

One of the many gaps in Moses' account of Cain and Abel concerns what Cain's curse meant and how he was marked. Since God's church at the time took place under the open sky and was not defined by place, Cain's banishment included more than him simply leaving his parents. Luther writes that "Cain is sent out and so is punished in a twofold way: first, with the physical punishment that the ground is cursed and the sign of a murderer is placed upon him; secondly, with the spiritual punishment that he is cast out through excommunication from the second Paradise, as it were, namely, from the temple and Church of God."<sup>44</sup> In this case,

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<sup>41</sup> Martin Luther, "Lectures on Genesis," 3.1. This is the reason that God cursed Cain as a person, rather than the sin and tempter (Satan as a snake) in Adam and Eve's case. *Idem*, 4.11.

<sup>42</sup> *Idem*, 4.9.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* "Ubi e contra confessio peccati liberalis consequitur misericordiam et vincit iram." Martin Luther, "Text der Genesisvorlesung," 203.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* "eiicitur Cain et sic dupliciter punitur: Primo poena corporali, quod maledicatur terra, et additum est ei signum homicidiale, Secundo poena spiritali, quod per excommunicationem eiicitur tanquam ex altera Paradiso ex templo et Ecclesia Dei." *Idem*, 210.

excommunication does not mean that Christ can no longer save Cain and his descendants, because the curse is restricted to only be “from the Earth” rather than “from Heaven.”<sup>45</sup> Instead, this means that Cain loses the blessing God had bestowed on him at birth, to be the ancestor of the Messiah. Secondly, it meant that Cain and his descendants were no longer Jewish, those seeking God could only participate as much as gentiles.<sup>46</sup> This punishment served a purpose. Had Cain been sentenced to death, he would not have time to change his ways. Since Luther writes that God exiled Cain to give him time to repent for his sins. If Cain or any one of his descendants were to repent later in life, Luther writes that God would show him mercy as he would for anyone else.

Luther maintains the connection between Cain and Jews that has been written about since the beginnings of Christianity, though not strongly emphasizing this this relationship. Luther describes Cain as:

a man who is not simply evil but extremely so, one who is bloodthirsty and yet is a hypocrite. He wants to appear holy and wants to accuse God rather than appear to merit the accusation himself. All hypocrites act this way. They blaspheme God and crucify the Son of God. Nevertheless, they want to be righteous.<sup>47</sup>

Though he does not name the Jews as a type of Cain, Luther is completely clear in his intention to establish this as truth. Implying this connection is an even stronger choice, allowing the reader to make the connection and giving it a greater veneer of truth to the individual.

Earlier in Luther’s discussion of the Fourth Chapter of Genesis, Luther ties the Catholic Church directly to Cain: “Therefore there is no doubt among us today that the church of the pope

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<sup>45</sup> *Idem*, 4.11. “Additur autem 'E terra'. Hoc quasi temperamentum huius horribilis irae est. Nam si 'E coelo' dixisset, in universum spem salutis posteritati eius ademisset.” *Idem*, 215.

<sup>46</sup> *Idem*, 4.9.

<sup>47</sup> *Idem*, 3.6.

is the church of Cain.”<sup>48</sup> He continues to explain that just as Abel did no harm to Cain, so too the Protestants had done no harm to the Catholics.<sup>49</sup> Because Cain was Abel’s brother, Luther warns his readership about the perils of trusting a person who comes with brotherly kindness, since this does not mean good intentions. He argues that just as Cain would have come to Abel as his brother, “the pope and the bishops do much talking and counseling about the peace and harmony of the church, but he is surely deceived who does not perceive that those counsels have the opposite intent.”<sup>50</sup> This statement reflects many in his *Commentary* in which Luther is trying to protect fellow Reformers, but also is part of the fear mongering so common to the battle between Catholics and Protestants. Luther also predicts that “the same judgment awaits our Cainites—the popes, the cardinals, and the bishops—who day and night turn over murderous plans in their minds and, like their father, still go on saying ‘I do not know.’”<sup>51</sup> A combination of typology and the Cain and Abel story allow Luther to simultaneously acknowledge the hardships of Reformers, but reminds his audience that God is loyal to His true believers.

This association is strengthened through Luther’s impression of the brother’s relationship with their parents. Luther claims that Cain was given greater preference by his parents because he was the first born. This preference is revealed through his occupation, which is the same as is father, and his arrogance. Abel however, is humble, showing that Adam and Eve despised him according to Luther. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Catholic Church had privilege and reach, and Reformers were despised. Luther goes further by saying that false churches, like

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<sup>48</sup> *Idem*, 4.9. “Nullum igitur apud nos hodie est dubium, quin Papae Ecclesia sit Cainica.” *Idem*, 188.

<sup>49</sup> It is important to distinguish the Church of Cain with Cain’s descendants, who Luther believes to have died in the Great Flood. *Idem*, 4.4.

<sup>50</sup> *Idem*, 4.8. “Pontifex hodie et Episcopi multa loquuntur et consultant de pace et concordia Ecclesiae, sed profecto decipitur, qui consilia illa non intelligit in contrarium.” Martin Luther, “Text der Genesisvorlesung,” 200.

<sup>51</sup> *Idem*, 4.9. “Idem iudicium quoque manet nostros Cainitas, Pontifices, Cardinales et Episcopos, qui cum noctu diuque consilia caedium animo versent, tamen etiam dicunt, sicut Pater ipsorum: Nescio.” *Idem*, 204. In this case, Luther’s word choice implies the people who are typographically related to Cain, rather than Canaanites.

Cain, are prideful while the true church is often shunned and slain. Despite the current fortune of Reformers, Luther reminds his readers of Cain's fate:

So also the pope and his bishops have this one way left to them, namely, that they recognize their sin and beg for forgiveness. But when they do not do this, God in His wrath will demand the blood of the godly from their hands. Let no one have any doubt about this. Abel was killed, but Cain lives. But, good God, what a wretched life he lives! He could wish that he had never been born, because he hears himself being excommunicated and expects death and vengeance for his sin every single moment. In due time the lot of our adversaries and of the oppressors of the church will be similar.<sup>52</sup>

The author encourages fellow Reformers not to give up and to remember that their suffering could always be worse.<sup>53</sup> Throughout his discussion, Luther infuses many ideological incongruities between the “true church” and the church of Cain, by which he means the Catholic Church. According to him, false churches started with Cain, who created new forms of worship so that he might seem to be God's church. Though Luther does not directly connect many attributes directly to the Catholic Church, a holistic look at his understanding of this story strongly implies certain beliefs about how Cain serves as an example for many of the flaws he finds in the Catholic Church. One of these is the lavishness of the church. Luther notes that when he says Cain was excommunicated from the church, they were not the “vast churches which are lavishly constructed of hewn stone,”<sup>54</sup> but simple ones in which a person could commune with God.

Saints were another aspect of the Catholic Church that Luther opposed. While he did not reject the use of saints in worship, he wanted people to recognize that the saints used in services were not declared by God, but by people. He also disagreed with the requirements the Catholic

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<sup>52</sup> *Idem*, 4.10.

<sup>53</sup> *Idem*, 4.4.

<sup>54</sup> *Idem*, 4.9. “*non oportet te respicere ad nostra templa ampla et magnifice ex lapidibus sectis constructa.*” Martin Luther, “Text der Genesisvorlesung,” 210.



church had for canonization. He preferred saints who had died at the hands of the Catholic church for the “true” (or rather Protestant) church such as those listed in “*Ein Newes [sic] Lied Wir Haven [sic] An*.”<sup>55</sup> For Luther, “true saints” were those that gave their life for the “true church,” like Abel who was therefore recognized as the first martyr.<sup>56</sup> Luther thus concludes that:

Cain is the father of all those murderers who kill the saints and whose wrath exceeds all bounds so long as a hair of their victims remains, just as Christ’s example also proves. In Cain’s instance, there is no doubt that he hoped to keep his glory of primogeniture after Abel had been destroyed. Thus the ungodly believe that their cruelty will benefit them; but later on, when they realize that their hope was vain, they sink into despair.<sup>57</sup>

Luther makes condemnation of the Catholic Church, however indirectly, evident: he accuses Catholic leaders of killing righteous men and foretells their fate if they do not change their ways. Simultaneously, Luther’s reasoning implies that the Reformers are on the correct path because of their persecution by the older church, even implying the potential sainthood of would-be “Lutherans”.

Luther also address the cry of Abel’s blood from the ground. He focuses on the contrast of Abel’s demure personality during life, but in death crying out loud enough to be heard in Heaven. For Luther, Moses’ use of blood in this passage is to show that all wrongs suffered by the faithful are known to God and he will take the appropriate recourse. Towards the end of his discussion of Genesis 4:10, Luther lists several Protestant martyr to whom he says God’s vengeance also applies and that their blood “will not keep silence. In due time it will compel God to come down from Heaven and execute on the Earth a judgment that will be unbearable for the

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<sup>55</sup> Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, 65-66.

<sup>56</sup> Luther did approve of some of the traditional saints, including: St. Elizabeth, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Bernard and St. Francis. These saints were listed in Luther’s work entitled: *Against the New Idol*. Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, 85.

<sup>57</sup> Martin Luther, “Lectures on Genesis,” 4.9.

enemies of the Gospel.”<sup>58</sup> Luther’s comments are clearly aimed at the leaders of the Catholic church; he ends stating his belief that the Pope and bishops have only one recourse to avoid punishment: to “recognize their sin and beg for forgiveness.”<sup>59</sup> As before, Luther directly confronts the deeds of the Catholic Church hierarchy, but does not condemn Catholicism itself.

While Luther finds new meaning in Cain’s and Abel’s story, his core thought is essentially the same. Early theologians often used this story to advance anti-semitism, using the relative age of the brothers, the righteousness of Abel and the wickedness of Cain. Luther used these same three details but applied them to support the Reformation. The roles changed over time. Though the role of Abel shifted from all Christians to Protestants and Cain from Jews to Catholics, Luther’s renewed metaphor still promotes hatred and fear of one’s chosen opponent.

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<sup>58</sup> Luther lists three such martyrs: Leonhard Kayser, Henry von Zütphen and Anthony of England. *Idem*, 4.10. “*Horum omnium sanguis non tacebit: coget suo tempore descendere Deum de coelis et facere iudicium in terra intollerabile hostibus Euangelii.*” *Idem*, 213.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* “*ut agnoscant peccatum suum et petant remissionem.*” *Idem*, 213.

## CHAPTER 2: PROPAGANDISTIC WRITINGS CONCERNING CAIN AND ABEL

As opposed to theological writings which were read by a small group of theologians, there was another body of writing during the Reformation intended for the general public's consumption. This body of literature was developed by both Protestants and Catholics alike to persuade public opinion of the authority of their particular doctrinal beliefs, eventually leading to some of the methods of modern propaganda.<sup>60</sup> Many of these methods stem from the use of popular culture and fear of "the other." Rebecca Oettinger finds that the propagandists published at the greatest rates between 1517-55, noting a significant decline after 1555. In addition to the decrease in the total number of publications, Oettinger also finds that after circa 1550, Protestant propagandists diverted the focus of their rhetoric from attempting to reform the Catholic Church, to reinforcing established Protestant values. Providing an interesting turning point for the use of propaganda, Alexander J. Fish defines confessionalization as that which occurred when people started to think of their religious identity in terms of their denomination instead of simply being a Christian.<sup>61</sup> Oettinger correlates the decrease in production and less heated rhetoric with increasing confessionalization, especially in Protestant areas.<sup>62</sup>

Propaganda for Catholics was more problematic than it was for Protestants. Previously, information would have been filtered through the various ranks of clergy and thus giving the church control over people's beliefs, while also establishing a hierarchy in which lay people were dependent on the church for all religious matters. The introduction of published religious

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<sup>60</sup> Mariam Usher Chrisman, "From Polemic to Propaganda: The Development of Mass Persuasion in the Late Sixteenth Century," in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte Gütersloh* 73 (1982): 177.

<sup>61</sup> Alexander J. Fish, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg 1580-1630* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2004): 16-17.

<sup>62</sup> Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2001), 9.

information meant that Christians were no longer dependent on the church as it was no longer the only means to gain religious information, allowing for the possibility of a church maintained by the community. Since propagandists used many types of media and popular culture within their works, this information could be learned by the illiterate, creating an even wider base of influence. Catholic leaders found this unacceptable, believing that religion was too important for the uneducated to make decisions about its tenets. This belief drove the church leaders to disapprove of vernacular Bibles and often to censor or declare heretical any vernacular texts that interpreted the Bible. This belief also made the Protestant movement more problematic because Catholic leaders could not simply correct the information they found to be false. This placed them in a tenuous position: they could choose to ignore this information, allowing it to spread at its current pace, or they could combat it and risk spreading the information more quickly by drawing attention to it.<sup>63</sup> The only way to resolve the situation was for the Catholic Church either to change their hierarchical structure or to eliminate Protestant publications altogether, which meant putting the movement itself to an end, something that was unsuccessfully attempted

Propaganda differs from the polemical writings discussed earlier in Chapter 1. As Miriam Usher Chrisman notes, polemic writing implies a dialogue between two or more groups. Conversely, a person writing and distributing propaganda does not expect a response from the opposing side. Chrisman's distinction between these two modes of communication suggests a different motivation in these two types of persuasion.<sup>64</sup> If an author's target was a group of educated individuals, then that author would write in such a way as to engage these individuals, appealing to their intelligence, discernment, reason, etc. in order to prompt readers to respond to

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<sup>63</sup> Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, 20, 50, 70.

<sup>64</sup> Chrisman, "From Polemic to Propaganda," 175.

the author's message; appealing, for instance, to their intelligence, discernment, or reason. If, however, an author desired to address a large, mostly uneducated audience, then there would be no reason to expect a written response in return. Reformers wanted to incorporate the general public more fully into religion, and thus intended their works for this mass audience. While the content of these works tended to be simple, some texts included Latin, which, while not understandable by most of the population, might gain credibility among those with more education (and a decidedly Roman Catholic background).<sup>65</sup>

A desire for anonymity also resulted from the change in target audience for religious texts. For an author wishing to engage in dialogue with his audience, it made sense to include his name; a name can add to the credibility of the author and identify to whom a response should be addressed. By establishing authorship, the author made citation possible in future discourse; a tradition that remains in modern scholarly devices. However, propagandists may have preferred anonymity because it lent an appearance of greater universality to the information provided. If an author is listed, anyone reading or hearing the text would justifiably attribute those ideas to a single person, whereas an unattributed work could not be linked to a single person. This work finds that attribution to an individual person and their sect, would weaken any claims for the text's universal truth. Anonymity was also important for propagandists before the era of confessionalism or in Catholic regions because local authorities were known to persecute Reformers. Since many Reformers were tried and sentenced to death, anonymity would help protect Protestant Reformers from persecution. While this study focuses on the Protestant side if

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<sup>65</sup> Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, 30-31.

the Reformation, it should be noted that Catholic writers had similar problems in predominantly Protestant areas.

During this time, pamphlets and *broadsides*, or a single sheet with material on only one side, were the principal means of communicating information of interest because they could spread information more quickly than oral transmission alone. Pamphlets, or *Zeitungen*, typically had four or eight leaves and contained journalistic accounts that could be either fact or fiction. The publication typically disseminated news using formulaic texts to facilitate memorization and dispersion of the material.<sup>66</sup> Broadsides were single-sheet publications, typically containing poems extolling the virtues of one ideology while vilifying the other. Broadsides, in particular, have rarely survived to the present day because, as single sheets of paper with no protective cover, they were prone to damage or loss. Broadsides were often read and quickly discarded; only in special circumstances, have any prints been preserved.<sup>67</sup> Preservation of these documents is further diminished because their actual use was avoided due to the potential danger they could bring. Since many of these publications contained inflammatory texts, the mere possession of a broadside could potentially lead to punishment if discovered by unsympathetic authorities.<sup>68</sup> Consequently, it was safer to memorize the text and eliminate physical evidence. In some cities, such as the Catholic stronghold of Augsburg, the dissemination of Protestant music was explicitly regulated and eventually the city declared such music to be completely illegal.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, 27.

<sup>67</sup> While most often broadsides were preserved because of an eccentric collector, some were reprinted later in multi-volume anthologies. R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of the Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 8.

<sup>68</sup> Fish gives an example of one man who fled in fear of the punishment as well as another who was punished for singing subversive songs. Fish, *Music and Religious Identity*, 1.

<sup>69</sup> *Idem*, 14-15.

In addition to text, broadsides might also include block prints.<sup>70</sup> Late-medieval popular culture was very visual. Consequently, religion tended to use visual images, relics, or drama to proclaim the mysteries of the church. Scribner notes that such imagery allowed illiterate people to comprehend what the literate clergy could read. He adds that sacred images may have induced or increased greater levels of piety in the illiterate.<sup>71</sup> As a driving force in propaganda, images served two purposes. First, from the author's standpoint, they added to or reinforced the meaning of the text. For instance, woodblock images allowed the illiterate or semi-illiterate to understand ideas that only the literate could read. While images are less effective than text at communicating information accurately, they were still the most effective means of communicating a message to a large number of people.<sup>72</sup> When one considers that current estimates of the literacy rates of the early sixteenth century lie between ten to twenty percent, meaning modes of communication other than written text were both more common and more successful.<sup>73</sup> Second, and more pragmatically, images tended increase sales. Text-only publications catered almost exclusively to the literate, while a publication with images allowed the non-literate insight into the publications' purpose, meaning more people could purchase and share them with others.<sup>74</sup>

Music also served to increase the size of a poem's audience. Music literacy was even rarer than linguistic literacy; people could perform music as entertainment either in public or private. Though dispersion by singing would have been mostly done by individuals, propaganda was also sung by groups, creating a sense of community in the same manner as hymns during

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<sup>70</sup> Multi-media was most common in earlier publications. As the industry matured, most editions only included text. Scribner, *For the Sake of the Simple Folk*, 6-7. This shift was possibly aided by the expense of producing prints of images and music notation and increasing literacy rates.

<sup>71</sup> *Idem*, 3-4.

<sup>72</sup> *Idem*, 4-5.

<sup>73</sup> Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, 3-24.

<sup>74</sup> Scribner, *For the Sake of the Simple Folk*, 4-5.

Protestant services.<sup>75</sup> Music also served as a memorization aid, a tool recognized and used at the time. For instance, composers such as Tritonius would set Latin texts polyphonically to help his students memorize texts and become more familiar with the language.<sup>76</sup> Memorization meant that the performer would not need to carry broadsides with them, reducing personal risk and allowing for more spontaneous performances. Moreover, this builds on the longstanding tradition of the oral transmission of sacred or secular texts. Most published music had simple texts that could be easily memorized by sympathizers, be it sacred or secular in nature. These were not the lengthy treatises that were written by the Church Fathers and later theologians, they were essentially—and effectively—mnemonic devices. Memorization also allowed for the rapid dissemination of text to a large group. Protestants, in particular, held song in high regard, reflecting Luther's belief that song was one of the best methods through which to explain beliefs.<sup>77</sup>

Text memorization was aided vis-à-vis music through popular songs to which new texts could be sung. Such contrafacta often used popular melodies that increased the likelihood of memorization not only because people already knew the melody used, but also because they enjoyed new text to sing. The use of popular and so-called folk melodies added the potential of a broader audience as all strata of society were familiar with these tunes.<sup>78</sup> Melodies were also chosen because they were easy to sing or because they fit the rhyme scheme of the texts. Poets also took advantage of peoples knowledge of the earlier text, juxtaposing the new words with the

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<sup>75</sup> Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, 208-209.

<sup>76</sup> Ernest F. Livingston, "The Place of Music in German Education around 1600," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 19, no. 2 (1971): 147.

<sup>77</sup> Luther preferred only two other ways to teach above song: sermon and catechism. Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, 48.

<sup>78</sup> Friedrich Blume observes that folk songs were an 'expression of the broadest social strata.' Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1974), 3.



old to add meaning, a tradition common throughout the history of contrafactum. Oettinger describes three main methods in these works. Poets used transmutation to correct previous songs to make them theologically acceptable; apposition when the original meaning is maintained but the references are updated for a contemporary audience; and inversion, in which the poet inverts polar opposites from the prototype, such as good and evil.<sup>79</sup> The strongest uses of intertextuality often involved naming an opponent at the same time an evil figure, such as Judas or Cain, would have appeared in the original version. Unfortunately for twenty-first century musicologists, few popular songs of this period have been recorded and in many cases we have lost much of the meaning that sixteenth-century people would have attributed to them.<sup>80</sup>

Propagandistic music of sixteenth-century music was typically monophonic and rhythmically simple and used popular forms (e.g. German Bar form). While Luther himself did not create any new styles of music, he did standardize the use of several pre-existent popular styles to Protestantism, connecting them to the Reformation.<sup>81</sup> *Leise*, one of these styles, were Protestant sacred songs that were stylistically similar to popular songs sung both in services and in the home. *Leisen* were used as hymns; in much the same way as they were often bound together with both serving as melodies for propagandistic contrafacta. While composers created *Leisen* specifically for devotional singing, there is little stylistic difference between *Leisen* and popular song.<sup>82</sup> Unlike the Reformation, which had characteristic styles of music, the composers and poets of the Counter-reformation did not use any specific style.<sup>83</sup> While the style of the Catholic liturgy in cities like Augsburg was becoming heavily embellished and allowing for

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<sup>79</sup> Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, 103.

<sup>80</sup> *Idem*, 99-103.

<sup>81</sup> *Idem* 87.

<sup>82</sup> *Idem*, 21.

<sup>83</sup> Fish, *Music and Religious Identity*, 20.

vernacular songs, it was not impacted by the Counter-reformation as much as Protestant services were.<sup>84</sup>

The subject of Reformation era propaganda shares many features with both factions. Luther's and Hieronymus Emser's popular-style works were among the few that engaged in theological debate. Although writing lyrics for popular consumption, both men shared many of the same intentions as those writing polemically. Like the polemicists, Luther and Emser attached their names to their work.<sup>85</sup> But the great majority of propaganda songs shared none of these traits and better fit the model for propaganda. Given the limited space available for publications printed on broadsides, propagandists tended not to challenge the listener, but rather relied on common knowledge.<sup>86</sup> Both sides relied on the symbols of popular culture to convey their message, typically stereotyping of the other side to reinforce their point. Keeping with the idiosyncrasies of broadside content, "scandalous" news about the other side was common. A woodcut by Leonhard Beck (1523), a monk, sitting on the left, is depicted purchasing a concubine (see Figure 2.1) serves as an excellent example. In the image, the monk is shown bargaining with the father of his desired concubine, offering to pay all of his debts. The parents mourn losing their child while the older monk standing to the far left does not approve of the younger monk's action, but still allows him to continue. The image questions both the morality of the monks in addition to the church's excessive wealth, both common complaints of the

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<sup>84</sup> *Idem*, 85-86.

<sup>85</sup> Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, 51-52.

<sup>86</sup> Scribner, *For the Sake of the Simple Folk*, 8.

FIGURE 2.1: THE MONK AND HIS MAID, LEONHARD BECK



period.<sup>87</sup> Current events became focal points, recounting recent political actions or military victories to increase morale or recent defeats to motivate their sympathizers. The use of either new and traditional symbols helped create a sense of solidarity by strengthening or creating a shared culture within each denomination.

Protestants attacked Catholics especially for their persecution of what they believed to be the true church and for murdering its leaders. As such, martyrs were a favorite for reformation

<sup>87</sup> Scribner, *For the Sake of the Simple Folk*, 38-39. The scroll texts from left to right.

Elder Monk: *Der sach müs ich fragen still, das ist es mit meinem will.* "I must remain still, though this is against my will."

Monk: *Patter, dein dochter veil ich verbingen, und dein sach züm gütten bringen.* "Father, I will buy your daughter and settle your debts."

Daughter: *Vatter dü sach hab ich mit zecht benomen, sunst voet ich ni[ch]t zuo den münch komen.* "Father, I knew what was happening, otherwise I would not have let the monk come."

Farmer: *Münch, du hast mich betrogen, und mit mein dochter ab erlogen.* "Monk, you have tricked me and lost me my daughter."

Mother: *Ach muß ich lerdien disser grossen spatt, an meinem kindt daß klag ich Gott.* "Oh, how very shameful this is, I plead to God for my child."

propagandists. Luther was no exception. “*Ein Newes Lied Wir Haven An*” is a lengthy account of Protestant martyrs, though the Catholic church is never explicitly named as the perpetrator.<sup>88</sup> Luther avoided any direct attack on the Catholic church both because he wanted to reform the existing institution, not create a new one, and to protect himself from political backlash. In another case, Luther was careful not to insult the canonization of a specific saint, but rather the process of canonization itself.<sup>89</sup>

All propagandists relied on sets of symbols to increase their songs’ affective impact. In addition to martyrs, Protestant Reformers frequently attacked the pope. Ultimately, such Reformation propaganda generated a new system of symbols that helped define the emerging Protestant church. As the pre-established church, the Catholic church reinforced traditional symbols of Christianity: Catholic martyrs, relics, the mysteries etc.<sup>90</sup>

Given the theology already discussed, the Cain and Abel story provides great potential for use in propaganda. Throughout her research, Oettinger has found many references to Cain in extant sources.<sup>91</sup> A popular song at the time by Luther was “*Ein Newes Lied Wir Haven An*.”<sup>92</sup> The lyrics were printed as a broadside in 1523 and was the first publication that Luther expressed his opinion of what sainthood truly was.<sup>93</sup> The song itself quickly became popular among the middle class and enjoyed several reprintings. The poetry follows the then popular Bar form (two *Stollen* followed by a slightly longer *Abgesang*, often summarized as AAB).<sup>94</sup> The lyrics tell of two brothers, John and Heinrich, how were persecuted by the Catholic church. Luther is careful

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<sup>88</sup> See Appendix II, “*Ein Newes Lied Wir Haven An*.”

<sup>89</sup> Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, 78.

<sup>90</sup> Chrisman, “From Polemic to Propaganda,” 185.

<sup>91</sup> Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, 68n23.

<sup>92</sup> See Appendix II, “*Ein Newes Lied Wir Haven An*.”

<sup>93</sup> There are not any extant copies of the original broadside, however prints from the next year do, depicting two men being burnt at the stake. Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*, 260.

<sup>94</sup> *Idem*, 61-62.

not to make any references to the Catholic church itself, instead referencing the persecutors as sophists (see the third stanza). The song praises the brother's courage and faith, telling the listener that even as they were being burned they sang praises to God, much to the dismay of the sophists. Luther concludes that the Sophists have failed to hurt the movement and uses the figure of Cain as a type for these sophists as earlier theologians had used him as a type for Jews:

<i>Der schimpff sie nu gerewet hat,</i>	<i>Now they regretted the mockery,</i>
<i>Sie woltens gern schön machen,</i>	<i>and wished to make everything well.</i>
<i>Sie thüren nicht rhümen sich der that,</i>	<i>They did not want word to spread,</i>
<i>Sie bergen fast die sachen,</i>	<i>and try to bury the story.</i>
<i>Die schand im Hertzen beisset sie,</i>	<i>Shame bites their hearts,</i>
<i>Und klagens jrn genossen,</i>	<i>and they mourn and deed to their friends,</i>
<i>Doch kan der Geist nicht schweigen hie,</i>	<i>but the Spirit cannot be silent.</i>
<i>Des Habels blut vergossen,</i>	<i>Abel's blood was poured out,</i>
<i>Es mus den Cain melden.</i>	<i>and Cain must pay.</i>

Just as Cain killed Abel and tried to hide his murder from God, Luther says that the Catholic church killed two of its two of its “junge[n]” brothers (see the first stanza). Luther uses Cain in this poem as the Church Fathers had: labeling a pre-existent religion as Cain and a derivative religion as Abel, being unjustly persecuted by its older brother. While the Church Fathers attacked the Jews and their persecution of Christ, Luther and other Protestant Reformers accused the Catholic church of straying from God and persecuting people of true piety.<sup>95</sup> Luther concludes the ninth stanza, predicting that the downfall of the Catholic church is inevitable because Cain's sin can only be punished by Cain's fate. A sentiment reflecting those in his *Commentary of Genesis*.

In 1544, Georg Rhau published an entire poem about Cain by Johann Walther called *Widerdie Caynischen Blutsverwandten*.<sup>96</sup> Walther takes a more theological approach, using

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<sup>95</sup> See discussion on pages 22-24.

<sup>96</sup> See Appendix II.

Cain's story as a lesson. The poem lists many reasons that Cain was a perverse man, deriving information from the Bible and from added exegesis. Taking a similar approach to Luther, the author chooses not to mention the Catholic church specifically, instead talking about Cain almost exclusively through personal pronouns; the name Cain only appears in the first two strophes and in reference to the "Cainish sort" ("*Cannisch art*") in the fifth. The first strophe does little more than to establish the subject of the story: Cain's murdering of Abel and God's consequent punishment. The subsequent four strophes list the many ways in which Cain has sinned: unjust persecution, arrogance, murder and denial of his sins. The sins of murder and denial can both be found within the account in Genesis. Arrogance, as shown through the desire of special treatment from God, echoes Ambrose's thoughts about Cain sins from his work *Cain and Abel*. One of Cain's sins that Ambrose identifies is Cain's sense of entitlement, believing that he deserved to be rewarded by God rather than understanding that people only receive good things through His grace as the Christian faith does. The *Abgesang* of the third strophe also depicts a man who thinks he is wise enough to lead, but follows his own path and not God's, adding to the reasons Walther believes Cain and the church he represents are sinfully arrogant. The sin identified in the first strophe is the most specific to the Protestant movement. Although early Christians faulted all Jews for the murder of Christ, this poem faults the Catholic church for the persecution and murder of Reformers. Walther adds more than most, saying that this act is a result of envy and does not show patience. Walther's predicts the downfall of the Catholic church in the final verse as did Luther in his poem and theoretical works. He describes the Catholic church as having large wounds that they hide from the public and calls the mysteries of the Catholic church evil

(“*Teuffels gnos*”). As a result, Walther predicts that the Catholic church will suffer pain, mockery and guilt for their Cain-like sins.

Both of these poems share the typological connection between Cain and the Catholic church found in Luther’s theological works. This choice echoes its use by the Church Father’s by connecting Cain to the Jews. In both cases, the image of Cain is used by those promoting a new belief system. The new group appropriates Cain to represent an older group, making any persecution from the older group a grave injustice. Furthermore, the only retaliation in the story came from God, giving a holy purpose to any persecution of the older faith.

### CHAPTER 3: “UBI EST ABEL” IN THE LITURGY

#### LITURGICAL HISTORY OF THE “UBI EST ABEL”

The week of Septuagesima is an important turning point in the liturgical year because it marks the beginning of the pre-Lenten season, a three week period preceding Lent. Like Lent, the Gloria and Alleluia, which as celebratory genres, are inappropriate for a penitential season and thus are eliminated from use. Septuagesima was established as an official part of the Calendar in seventh-century Rome.<sup>1</sup> This week’s liturgy lists the responsory “*Ubi est Abel*” as part of the sung office of Matins. Different Protestant congregations sang this responsory at different times, even during the celebration of the Mass. For example the copyist for the Manuscript Stuttgart 31 labeled Resinarius’ setting of this text for use during Quinquagesima (MS StuttL 31), while the publisher of Kropstein’s setting assigned it to as part of Sexagesima (ZwiR 73/V).

The date at which the church began to use responsories is unknown, but a proclamation by St. Benedict in the sixth-century is the first known reference to their use in the liturgy.<sup>2</sup> The genre has a distinct call-and-response character, usually involving a soloist and a choir. The responsory begins with the choir singing the respond, following the soloist who sings the verse; the responsory concludes with a choral restatement of the respond. The respond is often divided into two parts, in these cases, only the second part is typically repeated. After this second recitation of the respond, the soloist begins the Lesser Doxology (*Gloria Patri*) after which the

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<sup>1</sup> W. K. Lowther Clarke, *Liturgy and Worship* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), 206.

<sup>2</sup> *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. “Responsory 1. History of the form.”



choir repeats the respond again. There are variations of this particular performance practice, but most sources follow this general outline.<sup>3</sup>

Given the establishment of Septuagesima and earliest mentions of responsories in the liturgy, the original chant melody for “*Ubi est Abel*” chant was probably composed in the sixth- or seventh-century. The chant, found in the *Liber Usualis*, is in mode 7. The text for “*Ubi est Abel*” is used three times during the week as an antiphon<sup>4</sup> and once, following the Roman tradition, as part of the scripture reading (on Thursday); all of these usages occur during the office of Matins. Though it generally follows the text of Genesis 4:9-11 in the *Vulgate*, the responsory does have some slight differences. The *Vulgate* reads:

*et ait Dominus ad Cain ubi est Abel frater tuus qui respondit nescio num custos fratris mei sum dixit que ad eum quid fecisti vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra nunc igitur maledictus eris super terram quae aperuit os suum et suscepit sanguinem fratris tui de manu tua.*<sup>5</sup>

However, the Responsory text is as follows:

*R: Ubi est Abel frater tuus? dixit Dominus ad Cain. Nescio Domine, numquid custos fratris mei sum ego? Et dixit ad eum: Quid fecisti? \*Ecce vox sanguinis fratris tui Abel clamat ad me de terra.*

*V: Maledictus eris super terram, quae aperuit os suum, et suscepit*

R: “Where is your brother Abel?” the Lord asked Cain. “I do not know, Lord. Am I my brother’s keeper?” And the Lord said [to him], “What have you done? \*Listen! The voice of your brother Abel’s blood cries to me from the ground.

V: Cursed are you in the [ground] which has opened its mouth to receive your

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<sup>3</sup> Jeremy Yudkin, *Music in Medieval Europe* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 178. One of the most common variations is the use of more than one Bible verse. This also means more repeats of the *respond*. The is typically shortened to “*Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.*” David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 70.

<sup>4</sup> The three time that the *Divine Office* includes this during Septuagesima week are: after the homily for Matins on Sunday, after the third lesson for Matins on Wednesday, and after the second lesson for Matins on Saturday.

<sup>5</sup> Genesis 4 (*Vulgate*). Translation is mine.

*sanguinem fratris tui de manu tua.*  
(*Ecce. Glória Patri. Ecce.*)

brother's blood from your hand. (Listen!  
..." Glory [to the Father]. "Listen! ...")<sup>6</sup>

A comparison would show that primarily only word order has been changed. The *respond* of the responsory text adds "*ecce*" and "*tui Abel*" to the Vulgate in addition to slight rephrasing narrative tags to match the reordered text. The verse remains unchanged from the Vulgate. The text at the end of the responsory indicates the return to the respond, the lesser doxology ("*Glória Patri*"), and another repeat of the shortened respond.

It is telling that this is one of the verses chosen for use during a week devoted to teaching about the creation; it has an especially strong connection with the lesson it follows on Wednesday. The second lesson on this day comes from Genesis 3:14-20, which discusses the curse placed upon Adam, Eve and the serpent by God. Both of these stories involve a curse, in the case of the responsory being, the curse He gives to Cain. Since this text occurs at the beginning of the pre-Lenten season, the time that the church's focus turns to the suffering and death of Christ, the use of this text suggests a typological relationship between the death of Abel and Christ. This juxtaposition produces a strong contrast between the Fall of man and the death of Christ.

The mid-sixteenth-century brought about a relative boom of motets that use this responsory's text. Neither the University of Illinois' Renaissance Music Archive nor the Online Motet Database,<sup>7</sup> both of which have extremely comprehensive lists of musical works, contain any "*Ubi est Abel*" settings before 1543. Known motets written for this text were composed by: Orlande di Lasso (1563), Hollander (1556), Lorenz Lemlin (1550), Kropstein (1547) and

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<sup>6</sup> *Divine Office*, Septuagesima Sunday, Matins. The parenthetical text is original but with added parenthesis to indicate that this is not additional text as it would appear without, but rather an indication of performance practice as discussed previously.

<sup>7</sup> Amongst the numerous other databases online and in print.

Balthazar Resinarius (1543).<sup>8</sup> The lack of any earlier polyphonic setting of this responsory is suspicious. After having ignored this text for over one hundred and fifty years, why do several composers choose to set it beginning in 1543 and not before? Additionally, Lasso is the only composer of this group who was Catholic. Given the Protestant use of the Cain and Abel story for propaganda, the settings by Protestant composers are not surprising. Lasso, being a Catholic composer serving at a Catholic court, begs one to ask why this responsory was not set by more Catholic composers since Lasso did so. To investigate these questions among others, this study will first look at the pieces individually. This study includes the works by Lasso, Kropstein and Resinarius. The by Lasso and Resinarius exist in modern editions.<sup>9</sup> Kropstein's settings survives only in manuscripts, but a transcription by the author is given in Appendix II of this work.

## MODEL FOR MUSICAL ANALYSIS

Regarding the theory that guides musical analysis: it should be noted that the discussion of musical works applies historicist ideals, though in a way that needs qualification. Historicists use writings contemporary to their chosen work to guide their analysis. By doing so, the historicist attempts to avoid the anachronisms that occur in the aptly named "presentist model."<sup>10</sup> This discussion does not limit itself to sixteenth-century music theory because theoretical writings of that time taught the reader to compose, not analyze. Since this study analyzes written musical works, it is necessary to turn to modern writings as well which address works of this period. Additionally, this study incorporates references to writings of theologians that existed at

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<sup>8</sup> Jennifer Thomas, "Motet Database Online," <http://www.arts.ufl.edu/motet> (accessed May 11, 2011).

<sup>9</sup> The Resinarius is located in: Balthasar Resinarius, *Responsorium numero octoginta de tempore et festis iuxta seriem totius anni* (Kassel, Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1955). The Lasso can be found in: Orlando di Lasso. *Saemtliche Werke* vol. 7 (Weisbaden, German: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2007).

<sup>10</sup> Margaret Bent, *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica Ficta* (New York: Routledge, 2002). 24. The presentist model assumes that all views are equally appropriate for analysis and since those in the present are most familiar with their own views, that it is best for people to use present theory to guide analysis.

the time of these compositions to guide the following musical analysis. It is the intent of this author to base any conclusion on contemporary thought and theology, as well as music.

Inevitably, it is impossible to prove the intentions of any composer without extramusical material by the composer explaining his or her intentions. Thus, any explanations of musical choices outlined here are hypothetical and based on what seems reasonable to the author. No claim is made regarding any special knowledge of the composer's internal thought processes.

To the end of historically rooted analysis, this study intentionally avoids any teleological development within music theory that would imply an intentional attempt to create tonality in the sixteenth century. Modality certainly lead to tonality, but it is inaccurate to say this development was either intentional or planned. Such a view is problematic in analyzing modal compositions, since the assumptions on which tonality is based do not apply. Since the latest of the following compositions dates from the late 1560s however, this study need not consider tonal thought processes within the following musical works.

The question arises: whose viewpoint should be expressed in this analysis? The current study does not examine the works from the viewpoint of a listener, but rather focuses on the composer's choices. As there are no contemporaneous accounts of reactions to this work, any attempt to discern the music's reception would be pointless. Additionally, different sixteenth century audiences would have had varying degree of knowledge concerning Latin. While members of the monastic community or anyone fortunate enough to have received a humanistic education would have understood the responsory's text, the laity would generally not have. Instead, I place my focus on those who had influence on the music's design because the purpose of this study is to explore how theology impacted the composition of these pieces. This also

means the focus of this discussion is on those who are most familiar with the verbal and musical rhetorical devices featured in these motets. This is not imply any support of the sole celebration of the canon of great composers found in older musicological works. The three case studies chosen for analysis include composers ranging from one who was well-known (Lasso) to two rather less well-known (Kropstein and Resinarius), underlining my intent to find clues to how theology was embedded in music not of a particular composer, but rather of a particular time.

### *RESINARIUS'S SETTING*

Resinarius's setting was published in a volume of the well-known series of music prints published by Georg Rhau. Rhau dedicated two volumes to responsories, all written by Resinarius, called the *Responsoriorum Numero Octoginta De Tempore et Festis iuxta seriem totius anni*. The first volume contains responsories for Sunday Vespers starting with Advent and continues until *Corpus Christi*, including "Ubi est Abel."<sup>11</sup> Of the forty-two responsories in the first volume, "Ubi est Abel" is the tenth. Rhau's publication includes both the week this responsory was to be sung, Sexagesima, and the Bible verses this responsory draws from, as it does for all of the pieces in these two volumes.<sup>12</sup>

The composer, Resinarius (c. 1485-1544), a German composer and cleric, was part of the musical inner circle of Martin Luther. Originally a Catholic priest, he converted to Lutheranism, eventually becoming a Lutheran Bishop serving Leipa. While he wrote music throughout his life, his compositions are only preserved in the Rhau publications produced just before his death, 1543-44. Among the works in these publications is "Ubi est Abel," which is in the seventh mode, the same as the ninth century chant, and divided into three sections. The setting calls for four

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<sup>11</sup> Victor H. Mattfeld, *Georg Rhaw's Publications for Vespers* (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1966), 195.

<sup>12</sup> For further information, see both the introduction to the edition (Resinarius, xi-xv) and Mattfeld's discussion (194-213).

voices, but the third section utilizes only the lower three. The reduction to three voices for the verse text may be a reference to the fact that this section would have been sung by a soloist in the monophonic tradition.

The text Resinarius used differs from the Catholic original, using the phrase “*maledicta terra in opere tuo*” in place of “*Maledictus eris super terram.*” This choice of words reflects the language used in the Vulgate’s description of Adam’s punishment (Genesis 3:17): “*Adae vero dixit: Quia audisti vocem uxoris tuae et comedisti de ligno ex quo praeceperam tibi ne comederes maledicta terra in opere tuo: in laboribus comedes ex ae cunctis diebus vitae tuae.*”<sup>13</sup> This same textual variation is also present in other settings by Lutheran composers, including Kropstein.<sup>14</sup>

In the first section, the Discantus and Tenor sing “*frater*” on ascending semiminims from F to C (mm. 8-9). Sixteenth-century composers used a series of ascending notes to indicate physical ascent or someone’s virtuous character.<sup>15</sup> It is unlikely that Resinarius intended to say that Abel was ascending into Heaven since Christ had not died for the sins of man at this time. Thus, there would have to be an expectation that Abel would go to Heaven.<sup>16</sup> As a former priest and Lutheran cleric, Resinarius would have been aware of this, it is unlikely that he used this

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<sup>13</sup>Genesis 3:17 (Vulgate). “To the man he said, “Because you listened to the voice of your wife and ate from the tree of which I had forbidden you to eat, Accursed be the soil because of you! Painfully will you get your food from it as long as you live.” Genesis 3:17 (NJB).

<sup>14</sup> Both composer’s works are also labeled for use during Sexagesima rather than the Catholic calendar which calls for the use of this responsory during Septuagesima.

<sup>15</sup> Similar works can be found by several other composers of the time. For further information, see Bernhard Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, trans. by Ellen S. Beebe (New York: Broude Brothers Limited, 1988), 240.

<sup>16</sup> Since Abel lived before Christ, theology dictates that he would have gone to Hell after death. Many theologians struggle with this and conceived of better solutions. Augustin supports one such solution in which there was a section of Hell for those who believed in Christ’s future coming. One apocryphal book of the New Testament, the Gospel of Nicodemus, gives an account of what happened with Christ descended to Hell, including the release of Adam.

gesture to say that Abel had gone to Heaven and therefore intended this these upward gestures to convey Abel's piety.

Later in this section, Resinarius sets the word "*Dominus*" so that it is strongly delineated from the rest of the surrounding music. This period begins with a specific rhythmic sequence—dotted minim followed by a semiminim—that is repeated three times. The only voice that deviates from this rhythm is the Alto which uses a semibreve for one of the three rhythmic iterations. In the same passage, the Bass outlines a descending fifth from G to C, the first sign of modal change. This section also begins an extended period of commixture<sup>17</sup> to mode nine (mm. 18-33; See Musical Example 3.1). Commixture is similar to modulation in tonality: the work temporarily deviates from the established mode of the work to present another by emphasizing intervals characteristic of the new mode. Musicians of the time likened this to traveling to a foreign land and so commixture became a metaphor for travel or foreign people and locations.<sup>18</sup> Resinarius composed the Bass around the fifth from C to G and the inverted fourth which are characteristic of mode six. This commixture coinciding with the text "*Dominus ad Cain*" raises several possible meanings behind Resinarius' choice. One possibility is that it might represent the foreign concept of an omnipotent God asking a human for information. As mentioned previously, theologians have also found this odd and sought to rationalize God's action, such as Origen. However, it would be strange for Resinarius to take this opportunity to question the impetus behind God's action. More likely it refers to one of two plot points. One is God's descent from Heaven to ask Cain this question. Secondly, commixture might also suggest God's

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<sup>17</sup> Commixture is analogous to modulation in tonal music. By borrowing elements typical of another mode, the composer can temporarily leave the mode for the work. This is done through cadences and repeated use of intervals specific to the new mode.

<sup>18</sup> Meier, 286.

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.1: COMMIXTURE ON “*DOMINUS*,” RESINARIUS (MM. 18-33)

mi - nus ad Ca -

mi - nus ad Ca - in, ad Ca - in.

nus ad Ca -

Do - mi - nus ad Ca - in, ad Ca - in.

- in. Ne - sci o,

Ne - sci o, ne -

- in. Ne - sci o, ne sci - o, ne sci -

Ne - sci o,

ne - sci o, Do - mi -

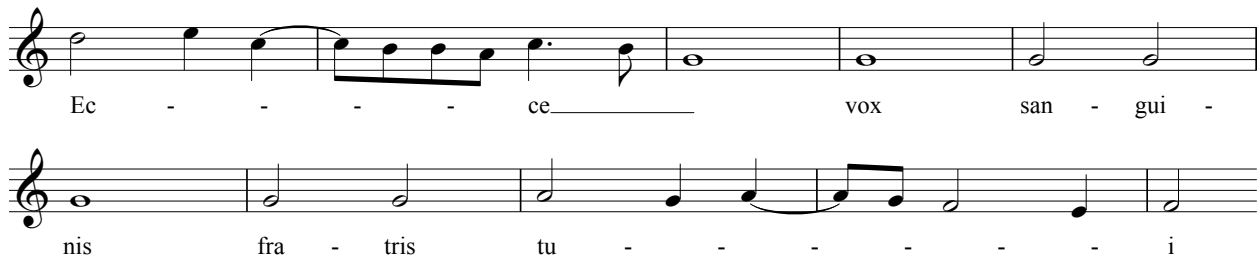
sci o, Do -

o. Do - mi - ne, Do -

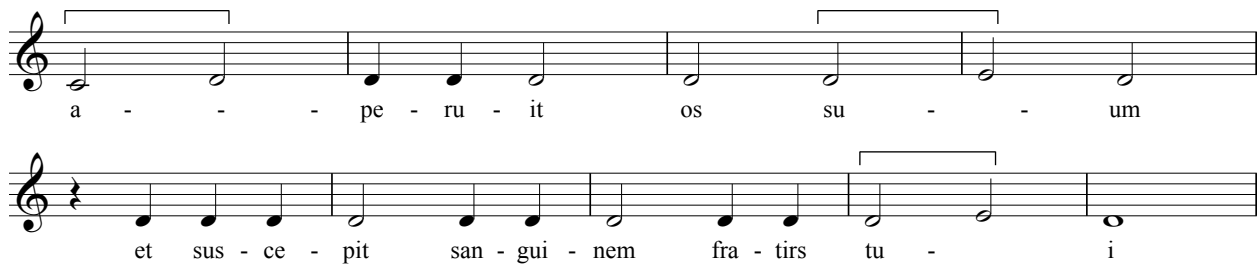
Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - ne, Do -



MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.2 A: *REDICTA*, RESINARIUS (MM. 70-74)



MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.2 B: *REDICTA*, RESINARIUS (MM. 115-22)



awareness of the obscene, unnatural and, therefore, foreign act that Cain has committed. If Ockham’s Razor were applied to musical analysis, the first of these two possibilities is the likeliest, since it is the simplest. The rather poetic nature of Resinarius using commixture to show God’s foreknowledge of Abel’s death, is a rather complicated and less likely explanation.

Another sixteenth-century compositional technique is the deliberate repetition of four or more notes for rhetorical emphasis, this process was known as *redicta*. Composers used *redicta* to evoke the sense that something is ancient, odd or grave. These implications are derived from its similarities to recitation tones in chant, which represented an ancient tradition and solemn occasions. Since repetition of a note several times was typically not allowed in sixteenth-century compositional practice, musicians of the time would have found it unusual and therefore special.<sup>19</sup> Resinarius uses *redicta* on G in the Discantus’ declamation of “*vox sanguinis fratris tui*” (the voice of your brother’s blood; mm. 70-74; see Musical Example 3.2 A). He uses this

<sup>19</sup> Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, 243-45.

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.3: CADENCE ON “AD ME,” RESINARIUS (MM. 86-86)

technique again in the Alto of the third section for the text “*aperuit os suum et suscepit sanguinem fratris tui*” (mm. 115-22; see Musical Examples 3.2 B). This time, the device occurs in the Alto, the highest voice of the third section. For this instance, Resinarius places this *redicta* on D, which, after G, is the next most structurally significant pitch for mode seven. The two connotations that best fit this use is the gravity of Abel’s death and the call for vengeance by his blood. The second could evoke foreignness in addition to graveness because fratricide is not a natural act, just as it is not natural for blood to “cry out.” Resinarius’ use of *redictae* in both cases places Abel’s murder by Cain at the center of this responsory.

An unusual, but weak, cadence draws the attention of the listener to the word “*me*” of “*ad me*” (m. 87; see Musical Example 3.3).<sup>20</sup> This makes it impossible for a listener — at least one who understood Latin or was familiar with the text — not to grasp the importance Resinarius places on the text’s use of the personal pronoun (“*me*”) to refer to God. This even greater prominence effectively separates it from what was sung previously. The Tenor voice is

<sup>20</sup> In measure eighty-seven, all voices sing a *brevis* simultaneously, but the two voices cadencing on D do not do so at the same time and the cadence includes only a *clausula tenorizans* and *altizans* (which descends a third). If not for such a strong rhythmic indication, this would not be considered even a weak cadence.

reminiscent of chant through Resinarius' uses longer notes notated with compound neumes. The Bass also has longer rhythms, but to a lesser degree. The use of long rhythms and low voices for "*de terra*" highlights the profoundness of blood calling to God from the ground.

At the center of this setting is the extreme nature of murder and its consequences. Resinarius makes this abundantly clear even though he adds little to the text, instead emphasizing the basic plot of the story to shape his audiences' perception. Additionally, God is the central figure in this setting, even though the Biblical account places much more emphasis on Cain. However, the emphasis of God's action can be explained by the text, in which God plays a large role. Even so, the brutality of Cain's act maintains the central role in Resinarius' setting.

#### KROPSTEIN'S SETTINGS

Kropstein's setting is the second work in a set of part books produced c. 1547 (ZwiR 73/VI). Nikolaus Kropstein (c. 1492-c. 1562) was a German pastor and composer connected with the Lutheran Reformation who was familiar with Georg Rhau and Martin Luther.<sup>21</sup> Several of Kropstein's works contain religious commentary of contemporary events,<sup>22</sup> though Wolfram Steude did not include "*Ubi est Abel*" among these works. Despite this omission, Kropstein's infusion of theological rhetoric in other works makes it all the more likely that this piece is not devoid of theological influences. While some of these instances might not be directly theological, this study focuses on potential theological influences. As the priest at Geyer from 1539 until 1554, the work may have provided an opportunity to link his compositions and a sermon earlier in the day. In any case, a sermon by Kropstein explaining or referencing this text could greatly

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<sup>21</sup> Wolfram Steude, *Untersuchungen zur mitteldeutschen Musicküberlieferung und Musikpflege im 16. Jahrhundert*, (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1978), 37-38.

<sup>22</sup> Wolfram Steude, *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Kropstein, Nikolaus."

enhance the the following analysis and aid in the current understanding of how composers infused theology into their sacred works.

Kropstein's setting of "*Ubi est Abel*" is both the longest and most saturated with musical rhetoric of the three explored in this study. The work appears to be, at least in part, based on a *cantus firmus prius factus*<sup>23</sup> since the Tenor melody, consisting mostly of breves, resembles the basic shape of the Gregorian chant. Though this similarity does not continue throughout the Tenor, nor does the *cantus firmus* migrate to another voice. Kropstein also casts this work in mode seven, as did Resinarius and the composer of the chant off which this is based. Two of the traditional cadence pitches for this mode are G (the final) and D (the reciting tone) predictably appear as cadential notes. Exceptional to normal practice, however, is the cadence to B that closes the verse. As with the other sectional cadences, the core of the cadence is formed by the Discantus (as the *clausula cantizans*) and the Tenor (as the *clausula tenorizans*),<sup>24</sup> followed by a plagal extension, making the cadential formula elaborate, but somewhat predictable for a piece of this magnitude. The fall of the Bass a fifth to G (*clausula basizans*) further strengthens the final cadence of the *respond*. The cadence for the verse follows the same basic form, but it ends on the unusual pitch of B.

In general, cadences on B were avoided for all modes. One theorist, Pietro Aron, does list B as a proper cadence pitch on in mode seven (In his *Trattato della Natura et Cognitione di tutti gli Tuoni di Canto Figurato*) in addition to G, A, C and D. Most writers, however, do not include B in lists of regular cadences for this mode. Pietro Pontio only lists G and D as "*cadenze*

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<sup>23</sup> The Tenor is based on a localized variation of the original plainchant distinguished by an ascent by two thirds after the initial descent to F below the final. Interestingly enough, much of the work also matches a responsory from epiphany: "*Hic est dies praeclarus*."

<sup>24</sup> Both the *clausula cantizans*, the voice which rises to the cadential pitch, and *clausula tenorizans*, the voice which falls to the same pitch, are named after the voice in which they normally take place: the cantus and Tenor respectively. Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, 91.

TABLE 3.1: NUMBER OF CADENCES BY PITCH IN KROPSTEIN’S SETTING

	Section			Total
	1	2	3	
<b>G</b>	6	8	3	17
<b>D</b>	10	1	4	15
<b>A</b>	3	2	3	8
<b>E</b>	1	2	1	4
<b>B</b>	-	-	1	1
<b>F</b>	1	1	-	2
<b>C</b>	1	1	3	5

*principali, et terminate*” and the pitches C, E and A as appropriate for cadences “*per transito*” (but not for final cadences). Gallus Dressler’s *Praecepta musicae poeticae* identifies G and D as the primary cadence finals and cadences on C as secondary. The works of several other theorists, Vincentio Lustano, Eucharius Hofmann, and Francisco de Montanos, agree with Dressler.<sup>25</sup> Even more striking is the absence of cadences to B anywhere else in the work whereas other notes have at least one cadence in each section (with the exception of F in the verse—see Table 3.1<sup>26</sup>).

Such an odd closing should be driven by the text. The text of the third section includes God’s sentencing of Cain for his particularly horrendous act: “Cursed are you in the ground which has opened its mouth to receive your brother’s blood from your hand.”<sup>27</sup> The obscure closing to this section highlights the obscenity of Cain’s act by expressing God’s anger as

<sup>25</sup> A summary of many sixteenth century authors descriptions of cadence finals for all modes can be found in Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, 105-116.

<sup>26</sup> The numbers notated in this graph represent an extremely regular distribution of cadences overall based on the common practice of the time as described by the above mentioned treatises and as noted by contemporary scholars, such as Meier. Further, the far greater emphasis on D in the first section as compared to the dominance of cadences on G in the second (and final) section suggests a movement to stability within the work.

<sup>27</sup> See page 40.

### MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.4: CADENCE TYPES



punishment. Except for this cadence, Kropstein is fairly orthodox in his distribution of cadence pitches as Table 3.1 shows.

Throughout Kropstein's setting, many of the cadences would generate unprepared dissonances if *ficta* were applied. Margaret Bent argues that strict application of the rules of counterpoint apply mostly to the relationship with one voice to the Tenor.<sup>28</sup> Bernhard Meier suggests, that composers parted from best practice in some cases to represent something archaic.<sup>29</sup> Given the profusion of such occurrences Kropstein's work, he may have intentionally done so to call to the listener's, or at least singer's, mind something archaic. This would certainly be appropriate for any story from the book of Genesis.

Further hints of antiquity can be found amongst certain cadences. One system of classifying cadences, supported by Stefano Vanneo, Nicola Vincentino and Orozio Tigrini, divided cadences into three types according to the duration of the pitches (see Musical Example 3.4): *cadenza maggiore*, *cadenza minore* and *cadenza minima*.<sup>30</sup> Of these three types listed, *cadenza maggiore* were already considered archaic by 1550 for their use of breves. One such cadence appears in measures 24-25 on the last word of "*Ubi est Abel frater tuus*" (See Musical Example 3.5). This particularly strong cadence on D is made by the Discantus (*clausula tenorizans*) and Tenor (*clausula cantizans*) supported by a *clausula basizans*. This cadence is also strengthened by Kropstein's use of a *cadenze fuggite* (i.e. a cadence in which the composer

<sup>28</sup> Bent, *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica Ficta*, 86.

<sup>29</sup> Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, 96.

<sup>30</sup> *Idem*, 92.

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.5: *CLAUSULAE MAGIORE*, KROPSTEIN (MM. 22-27)

The musical score consists of five staves. The top four staves are in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The lyrics are 'tu' and 'us'. The music features various note values, including minims, crotchets, and quavers, with some notes beamed together. There are also rests and a fermata over the final note of the top staff. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllable placement.

delays or completely avoids approach to the final cadential note in at least one of the voices<sup>31</sup>). In this case, the Quintus approaches D, but moves to A before finally cadencing on D in measure 27 with another *clausulae magiore*. As the first strong cadence, an intentional use of an archaic cadence not once, but twice, could symbolize ancient times at the beginning of the work.

Melismas are prominent throughout this work. The word, “Abel,” receives melismatic treatment almost immediately after the piece starts (mm.5-14), though only in the top three voices whereas many of the other melismas are present in four or all of the voices elsewhere. Shortly after, Kropstein sets the word “*frater*” with ascending thirds in breves or a semibreve and neumes (see Musical Example 3.6). The triadic motive appears without embellishment in all voices but the Alto and returns later in the piece. In the text of the second section, God tells Cain how he knew that he had killed his brother: Abel’s blood called out to Him. Like the motet’s opening, Kropstein sets Abel’s name melodically (mm. 155-162).

<sup>31</sup> *Idem*, 99-101.

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.6: TRIAD THEME ON “*FRATER*,” KROPSTEIN (MM.12-19)

The musical score is written for a choir and piano. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system includes a Soprano part, an Alto part, a Tenor part, a Bass part, and a piano accompaniment with Right and Left Hand parts. The second system continues the vocal parts and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are 'bel fra - - - ter' and 'fra - - - ter'. The music is in G major and 4/4 time. The triad theme is a central element of the composition.

**System 1:**

- Soprano:** bel fra - - - ter
- Alto:** bel fra - ter
- Tenor:** bel fra - - - ter
- Bass:** fra - - - ter
- Piano Right Hand:** fra - - -
- Piano Left Hand:** fra - - -

**System 2:**

- Soprano:** fra - - - ter
- Alto:** - ter
- Tenor:** fra - - - ter
- Bass:** ter
- Piano Right Hand:** tu - - -
- Piano Left Hand:** tu - - -



MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.7: TRIAD THEME ON “ABEL,” KROPSTEIN (MM. 155-160)

The musical score consists of five staves. The lyrics are:   
 i A - - - - - A - - - - - bel A - - - - - bel a - - - - - A - - - - - bel A - - - - - bel   
 The melody in the Bass line spans from a low F and extends upward an octave.

A cadence to F in measure 155 precipitates a series of imitations based on Abel’s triadic motive (see Musical Example 3.7). The melody in the Bass line spans from a low F and extends upward an octave. With the exception of the Tenor, all voices imitate this motive, generally progressing from a lower range to a higher one. Shortly after the modal diversion, Kropstein reasserts the seventh mode with a strong cadence in measure 168. The general upward motion of this theme in all the voices could possibly represent many things. It cannot be Abel’s ascension into Heaven because Abel lived before the death of Christ. Theologian’s thoughts on this range from a state of suspended animation to a special section of Hell relegated to those who believed in the second coming of the Messiah. In this case, this author believe it refers to Abel’s piety as upward motion can symbolize virtuous characteristics.<sup>32</sup> Since Abel’s piety lies at the heart of the Cain and Abel story, it would be most reasonable for this to be the virtuous characteristic to which Kropstein refers. While the first two sections feature many melismas on Abel’s name,

<sup>32</sup> Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, 240-41.

## MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.8: DESCENDING MOTIVE ON “EUM,” KROPSTEIN (MM. 105-108)

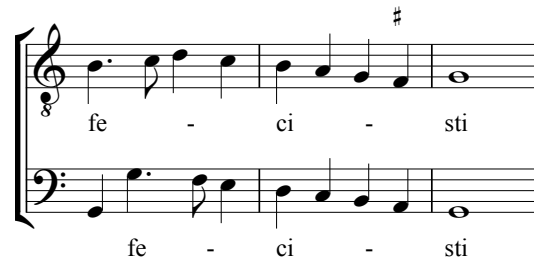


often using the triad theme, the third section is a different matter; rather than using the triad theme for the single textual reference to Abel in this section (“*et suscepit sanguinem*”), he sets the Discantus to a single note.

Kropstein also includes Cain's role in this passage in part through melismatic treatment of the words "*tuus*" (mm. 19-31), "*Cain*" (mm. 50-57) and "*custos*" (mm. 79-85). The first word, *tuus*, indicates Cain as the cause for the dialogue. Rather than focusing on Abel, Kropstein devotes a greater amount of musical space to the word "*tuus*," which defines Abel's relationship to Cain rather than as an independent person. Although God asks about Abel's location, this is not the true reason for His inquiry. Instead, He is more concerned with Cain's knowledge of his brother's fate. Later, "*eum*" is also set melodically, featuring a descending motive throughout the melisma (see Musical Example 3.8). Just as he had used melisma to highlight "*tuus*," so Kropstein emphasizes the words in the text that refer to Cain. The addition of the descending fourth adds a negative outlook, a treatment that continues into the Baroque era. The text of the second section is half as long as the first and does not mention Cain by name; instead, the text references him only tangentially with the pronoun "*tui*," which has the same florid treatment as it did in the first section (on "*tuus*," mm. 147-156), though with a shorter melisma and without the repetitions found in the first section.

Kropstein elaborates the words “*quid fecisti*” (“what have you done?”) to a greater extent than any other words in the Responsory. He first sets the text as a duet, sung first by the Alto and

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.9: ALTO AND BASS DUET ON “*FECISTI*,” KROPSTEIN (MM. 112-14)



Bass, and repeated exactly by the Discantus and Quintus an octave higher (see Musical Example 3.9). All four voices outline characteristics intervals of mode seven ending in a cadence accomplished by descending descending lines in *minims*. The Bass and Quintus descend by step from G to an octave below while the Alto and Discantus descend by step from D to G. After these duets, the Bass introduces a descending fifth motive that is used a total of nine times in the Discantus and Bass (see Musical Example 3.10). Unlike the preceding duets, none of these iterations of the motive outline the characteristic fifth G-D. Melodic descent by fifth represents God’s descent to Earth. The contrast between the modal regularity of the earlier duets with this irregularity may also God’s revulsion at Cain’s act of murder.

Kropstein does not use melismas to underscore God’s role in the story to the same extent found in the two human characters. The only melisma referring to God sets the word “*Domini*” (mm. 33-49). Kropstein depicts God’s agency in this story by setting “*dixit dominus*” with a declamatory rhythmic motive (mm. 31-39; see Musical Example 3.11), the same motive used later in this section for “*fratris mei sum*” (see Musical Example 3.12). That Kropstein connects text are associated with beings who could not be more different — God and Cain — is quite interesting. The first, “*dixit Dominus*,” is narrative whereas “*fratris mei sum*” can be seen as a reference by Cain, an actor in the story, to his brother, Abel. Cain’s response is also featured through the rhythmic treatment of “*fratris mei sum*” (mm. 87-91). The featured rhythm starts

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.10: “*QUID FECISTI*,” KROPSTEIN (MM. 116-128)

sti quid fe - ci - sti quid fe - ci -

sti quid fe - ci - sti quid fe - ci - sti quid

fe - - - - ci -

quid fe - - - -

quid fe - ci - sti quid fe - ci - sti quid

sti fe - ci - - - - sti

fe - ci - - - sti quid fe - ci -

- - - sti fe - ci - sti quid fe - ci -

- ci - - - - - sti

- fe - ci - sti quid fe - ci - - - -

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.11: “*DIXIT DOMINUS*,” KROPSTEIN (MM. 31-39)

us di - xit do mi - nus di - xit do mi - nus do - mi - nus

us di - xit do mi - nus di - xit do mi - nus di xit do mi nus do - -

Di xit Di - xit do mi nus Di - xit do mi nus di xit do mi nus do - mi - nus

di - xit do - - - - - mi - nus

us di - xit do mi nus di - xit do mi nus di - xit do - mi -

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.12: “*FRATRIS MEI SUM*,” KROPSTEIN (MM. 87-91)

fra - tris me - i sum      *fra - tris me - i sum*      fra - tris

sum      fra - tris me - i sum      *fra - tris me - i sum*      fra -

stos      fra - tris me - i sum      *fra - tris me - i sum*      fra -

8      fra - - tris      me - - i      sum

tris      fra - tris me - i sum      *fra - tris me - i sum*      fra -

with a *semibreve* followed by three *minim* and another *semibreve*. In both cases, the Tenor maintains its primary role presenting the *cantus* in *breves*. However, most iterations of the rhythm sung to “*dixit dominus*” do not occur at the same time, while those for “*fratris mei sum*” are largely homorhythmic except for the Discantus and Tenor who anticipates the other voices.

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.13: “*IN OPERE*,” KROPSTEIN (MM. 210-214)

in o - pe - re in o - pe - re in o - pe - re

in o - pe - re in o - pe - re in o - - - -

ra in o - pe - re in o - pe - - - - re

te - ra - in o - - - - pe -

ra in o - pe - re in o - pe - re in o - pe - re

Both appearances of this rhythm culminate in melismas (“*Dominus*” and “*Cain*” after the first text and “*ego*” after the second). The words “*Cain*” and “*ego*” both refer to the principal character in the dialogue; the occurrence of both at the end of a clause creates a parallelism between the two texts. The word “*Dominus*” corresponds to “*ego*.” both words are used by a person, the narrator and Cain, respectively, to refer to the speaker of the preceding text. Here, Kropstein’s use of melismas or homorhythm seems to reinforce the structure rather than interpret to the text.

In measure 210 (part of the verse), Kropstein repeats the rhythmic motive used in first for the words: “*in opere*” (see Musical Example 3.13) After a rather lengthy section repeating the words “*tuo*” and “*que*,”<sup>33</sup> this rhythmic imitation returns, now as the Earth’s response to Cain’s act (m. 235; see Musical Example 3.14). The two iterations of the motive in the third section parallels his use of that device in the first: the motive does not appear in all voices synchronously

<sup>33</sup> Here, Kropstein sets “*que*” with several short melodic gestures, a texture not found elsewhere in this piece.

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.14: “APÉRUIT,” (MM. 235-240)

The musical score consists of five staves. The first four staves are vocal lines, and the fifth is a basso continuo line. The lyrics are: 'a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it os\_ a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it os\_ ru - it a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it os\_ pe - - - - ru it os su - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it os'. The music features a descending fifth motif and a Discantus voice.

in the first section but does in the second. Kropstein adds further interest by adding diminution (semiminims) of the descending fifth. Another subtle difference is the displacement of the Discantus voice; rather than singing synchronously.

As before, the connection between music and text seems weak. Kropstein might have connected the Earth's opening to receive Abel's blood with Cain's role as a farmer, who needs to open the Earth to plant seeds. Indirectly, this metaphor links with Patristic theology that dealt with God's curse on the Earth. Theophilus wrote that blood coagulates because the Earth was frightened by God's descent to Earth to punish Cain after it had opened its mouth to consume Abel's blood.<sup>34</sup> This interpretation may find support in Kropstein's use of the descending fifth motive for “*de manu*” (mm. 255-262). Before, Kropstein used this motive on “*quid fecisti*” to portray the horror of Cain's deed. Now, the same motive reflects disgust for the hands that performed the deed. The use of the same texture for “*in opere*” and “*apérui*” might represent the

<sup>34</sup> Theophilus, “Theophilus to Autolycus,” in ANF vol. 2, ed. A Cleveland Coxe (Peabody MS: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 105-106.

MUSICAL EXAMPLES 3.15: “AD ME,” KROPSTEIN (MM. 175-178)

grounds refusal to produce crops for Cain, thus explaining what the curse was that God placed on Cain. This reflects discussions such as Theophilus’ who reasons that blood coagulates because it remembers Abel’s murder

Similar to the duets used in the first section, Kropstein sets “*ad me*” to a trio of singers (mm. 175-178, see Musical Example 3.15). The choice of three voices might signify as the Holy Trinity, as opposed to the dialogue of the duets (“*Quid fecisti*”), in which God and Cain are musical equals. The trio, performed by three lower voices, omitting the Tenor because of its role as bearer of the *cantus firmus*. In contrast to the logical expectation that a message from God in Heaven would use higher voices. Kropstein might have used the lower voices to demonstrate God’s presence on Earth to address the grievance of Abel’s blood. An additional explanation would be the use of lower voices to mimic the use of Christ’s words in *Passion* chants. In these chants, the words of Christ are typically recited on the lowest pitches of the piece.<sup>35</sup> Either case

<sup>35</sup> *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musician*, s.v. “Passion: 1. Monophonic Passion.” Personal communication with Dr. Tom R. Ward.



lends profundity to these words, either by marking God's descent from Heaven or the words of Christ on Earth.

There are several other sections in which the motet's music portrays characteristics not typical of mode seven, the most striking of these being the aforementioned passage. Any cadence to B, especially at the end of a section, is a *clausula peregrine* regardless of mode. Technically, a composer was not to use a cadence outside the mode without justification derived from the text.<sup>36</sup> In this case, the text mentions the hands of the person that spilt his own brother's blood, while also underscoring the obscenity of Cain's act. Like Resinarius, Kropstein also employs *redictae*, repeating an A in the Discantus line for nearly ten breves on the text "*Et suscepit sanguinem fratris tui*," cadencing with an inflection to B. In the music containing the *redicta* on A (mm. 245-54), Kropstein shifts the other voices from the seventh mode to what may best be described as mode two, creating a section of commixture. Like many cases discussed in the study, the presence of commixture in this case is strongly indicated by the Bass, which outlines the characteristic intervals of mode two. Mode two is further supported by the repetition of A, which is the highest note of the mode, in the Discantus. Both Resinarius and Kropstein use *redictae* and deviations from the established mode to represent the unnatural act of fratricide. Considering other elements, the repeated A may also indicate ancient times. Adding Kropstein's use of unprepared dissonances and *clausulae maggiore* begins to suggest that Kropstein intended this music to allude to the story's occurrence in antiquity.

Throughout Kropstein's setting, there are two duets and two trios. Kropstein places the first duet in the first part of the *respond*, the first trio in the second part of the *respond* and the

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<sup>36</sup> Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, 279.

second duet followed by the second trio in the verse. Both duets actually occurs as sets of two, pairing the Alto with the Bass and the Discantus with the Quintus. Similarly, both trios feature the Quintus, Alto, and Bass. In the first section, both duets set the text “*quid fecisti*” (mm. 112-16). The trio of the second part is “*ad me*” (mm. 175-78). The third section opens with a set of duets on “*maledicta*” with the same pairings but with the order reversed (mm. 192-202). Finally, the last trio is sets “*suum*” (mm. 242-44).

All four voices in the first set of duets demonstrate the melodic characteristics of mode seven: the Alto and Discantus outline the fifth descending form D to G, the Bass and Quintus reflect a scalar G octave; both duets cadence on the modal final (G). Subsequent duets and trios progressively digress from the seventh mode. The trio of the second section mixes qualities that both reinforce mode seven and question it. Affirmation of the seventh modes taken the form of: cadences on D, the Discantus’ final on G and the final descent in the Bass from G to D. Unlike the first duets, the Kropstein does not restrict himself strictly to these characteristic intervals. For instance, the Quintus stresses the fourth through a leap and scalar motion from G to C. The Alto and Bass are slightly more regular, but less so than the duets of the first section. The duets beginning the third second start with the Discantus on A, a note of lesser importance in mode seven. However, the Quintus line follows with an entrance on D and the initial duet by the upper voices ends with a strong cadence on G. These duets also serve as entrances, both duets using the same pattern, the second transposed down a fifth. The second duet is modally regular, though not as much as the duets in the first section, ending on C, the Bass ending with a downward with leap to a G. Both duets have a scalar descent of a seventh in the lower voice, from F to G in the Quintus and from B to C in the Bass. Kropstein likely meant the dissonance of the seventh and

the unusual entrance on A to indicate the seriousness of the curse God is about to inflict on Cain. The final trio is also fairly modally regular, the Bass line maintaining the characteristic fifth of mode seven (G to D). All four small group sections are rhythmically similar, mostly minims that beginning with a dotted minim followed by a semiminim. The exception to this is the duets in the third section that use breves and semibreves. A logical explanation is their location at the beginning of the section; the breves and semibreves serve as the entrance of each voice for the third section.

The texts seem to share less in common than the music. Both duets have texts that reflect the obscenity of Cain's act: "what have you done" (*quid fecisti*) and "cursed" (*maledicta*). The trios seem to have less in common. In the first, God refers to Himself (*ad me*) while the second refers to the ground through the pronoun, "*suum*." The contrast of ternary and binary could reflect the old notions of perfect and imperfect. Sections with two voices might refer to Cain by using the secular duple, while and the trios could depict God (the Trinity) and the Earth that calls to Him. This connection between the two duets seems reasonable, but not between the trios. One must ask the question: did Kropstein intend these duets and trios to interpret the text, or simply to emphasize the text? Given the weak connections between the words Kropstein sets with duets and trios, he probably used these duets and trios to draw the listener's focus to important words and phrases.

It is possible that Kropstein used Resinarius' setting as a basis for his own, possibly augmenting the work for a special occasion. There are two primary characteristics in the composition that suggest this. The first is the use by both composers of *redicta* for the same text. Given the rarity of this compositional technique, it seems odd for two composers to use it for the

same text unless one was influenced by the other. However, the original chant setting of the text uses a recitation tone throughout much of the verse. The homorhythmic sections are also similar in these two works, using consistently shorter note values and having one voice slightly offset, though not for the same text as was the case for the *redicta*. Like the *redicta*, Kropstein could reasonably have used this texture without knowledge of Resinarius. Indeed, Josquin uses this texture in several of his works.<sup>37</sup> Josquin was popular during this time among Protestants, largely because Luther declared him one of the few masters of music.<sup>38</sup> While Kropstein certainly may have been inspired by Resinarius work, the use by both composers of Josquin as a model could be coincidence because of his prominence.

Analysis of any musical work brings its own problems, a rule to which Kropstein's setting is no exception. In many cases, the reason for Kropstein's choices is unclear. Considering that Kropstein was a pastor first, and a composer second, might the lack of apparent rational be a result of musical maturity? Rather than choosing certain techniques to convey a message, Kropstein might have chosen to emphasize important words in various ways. His music is certainly pleasant to listen to and demonstrates technical expertise in composition. The one aspect of musical interpretation that is indispensable is his portrayal of the evilness of Cain's act, most notable in Kropstein's treatment of "*quid fecisti*," the duet on "*maledicta*," the use of the descending fifth motive, the use of *redicta* to show the perverse act of fratricide and the general emphasis of Cain throughout. Abel also receives some attention, if only through the repeating triad theme that appears in the first and second (also the last) sections.

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<sup>37</sup> For examples, see Josquin's "*Ave Maria*" and "*Miserere domino*" in Allan W. Atlas, *Anthology of Renaissance Music* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998). Personal communication with Dr. Tom R. Ward.

<sup>38</sup> *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Josquin des Prez. 9: Reputation."

## LASSO'S SETTING

Orlando di Lasso's setting of "*Ubi est Abel*" serves as something of a foil to the works of these two Protestant composers. The first extant copy of his setting was published in 1567, appearing in another seven publications over the next two decades.<sup>39</sup> Given the previous two settings, it is surprising that Lasso apparently avoided the chant melody in his composition. This is apparent at the beginning, which does not use the chant's exordium for imitative entrances as Resinarius' and Kropstein's settings do.

Unlike the previous two composers, Lasso was not strongly invested in the conflict between Catholics and Protestants. At the time, he was working for the court of Bavaria, whose sovereign was Duke Albrecht V. Though Catholic himself, the Duke was somewhat open to Protestants during the earlier part of Lasso's tenure at his court. This attitude changed. For a time, he allowed Ludwig Daser, a protestant, to be the Kapellmeister for the Bavarian court, with him being promoted to the position in 1552. Daser left the court in 1563, supposedly due to the strain of denominational differences.<sup>40</sup> Lasso himself, although Catholic as well, does not appear to have strongly proclaimed the cause of the Counter-Reformation. This contrasts him with the two previous composers, who were personally invested in the Protestant-Catholic feud. Unless Lasso was pressured by zealots of the Counter-Reformation, he probably would not have imbued his works with messages supporting the movement's agenda.

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<sup>39</sup> Only the Alto survives from the the earliest manuscript containing this work, *Primo libro de gli eterni, Lasso saemtliche werke* VII, LXIX These manuscripts include: RegB89102, OxfC 979083, LonBl 31390, and a the *Primo libro de gli eterni mottetti di Orlando Lasso, Cipriano Rore et d'altra eccel. musica a 5 et 6 voci*. Thomas, *Motet Database Online*.

<sup>40</sup> This also coincides with the time that Duke Albrecht V instituted the Censorship Commission, which he constituted in 1561. This commission was lead by the Jesuits who purged the Duke's library of heretical material. David Crook, "A Sixteenth-Century Catalog of Prohibited Music," in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 51. See also: Grove Music Online, s.v. Lassus: (1) Orlande de Lassus 2. Munich.

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.16: FINAL CADENCE OF FIRST SECTION, LASSO (MM.16-19)

di - xit Do - mi - nus ad Ca - in.

xit Do - mi - nus ad Ca - in.

di - xit Do - mi - nus ad Ca - in.

xit Do - mi - nus ad Ca - in.

di - xit Do - mi - nus ad Ca - in.

Lasso's setting follows the traditional Catholic version of the text, but does not set the verse. This means that Lasso either intended the cantor to sing this text using the original chant, or the rest of the work is lost. Of these two possibilities, it is most likely the first; in his other settings of responsories, Lasso also did not set the verse, so it is unsurprising that "*Ubi est Abel*" does not contain a setting for this part of the text.<sup>41</sup>

Lasso also divides the text differently than his Protestant counterparts, leading to a change in the text attached to structurally significant cadences. Consideration of this text may explain the reason for this difference. The first and most prominent cadence sets Cain's name, though the cadence is weak for one given such rhythmic and structural prominence (mm. 17-19; see Musical Example 3.16). The voices seem to cadence on G, but the voices approach the final G by leap. The other voices sing D and B, typical of a cadence on G. The combination of these elements strongly suggest a cadence, but does not technically fulfill all the requirements as no

<sup>41</sup> "Angelus Domini descendit" serves as a counter example to this tendency. While in one version contains only the first and second part, which constitutes the respond, D-Mbs, Mus.ms 14 includes two more parts setting the verse. However, it is unknown if Lasso completed this setting, or if this was done by a member of his choir. From a personal communication between Dr. Tom R. Ward and Dr. Berhnold Schmid (Bavarian Academy of Sciences).

voice takes the role of the *clausula tenorizans*. A similar cadence on C occurs in measure 16. Again, this cadence is missing the *clausula tenorizans*, but does include the *basizans* cadential formula in the Bass part. There are two likely purposes for Lasso's decision. Given the lack of strong divisions elsewhere in the text, a strong cadence would not match the rest of the piece. However, Lasso changed the normal division of the text completely. This might mean that he intended to place a weak cadence here to reflect Cain's weak character as demonstrated his sacrifice. While Cain made the outward appearance of sacrifice, he did not truly sacrifice in his heart.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, both of these instances appear and sound as full-fledged cadences, but do not match all of the requirements.

Lasso adds another, less clearly defined, break after the end of the next two larger clauses as well. First is the one which ends "*Nescio Domine, numquid custos fratris mei sum ego?*" This cadence is even weaker cadence than the one for "Cain." Possibly to counteract this, Lasso strengthens the beginning of next section (on the text "*Et dixit ad eum: Quid fecisti?*") through the use of imitative entrances. The break before the beginning of the shorter respond is actually the weakest of these three subsections within the larger second section. The Discantus starts singing "*Ecce*" before the middle three voices have finished with the text of the last section. The only characteristic distinguishing this section from the previous is its new texture. The four outer voices sing "*ecce*" on longer rhythms than are notated in the music previously while the he Alto continues using considerably quicker rhythms and even incorporates a cadence to G.<sup>43</sup> The final cadence is relatively strong when compared to the earlier cadence on "*Cain*," but does not

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<sup>42</sup> See pages 13-15 and page 19 for a discussion of how theologians explained why Cain's sacrifice was not excepted.

<sup>43</sup> Lasso uses this cadence pattern frequently throughout the work. An actual cadence does not occur in the polyphonic sense of the term, but the use of this pattern here would easily be perceived as one given its frequent use with cadences.

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.17: HOMORHYTHM, LASSO (MM. 46-49)

The musical score consists of five staves, each with a different vocal part. The lyrics are written below the staves, aligned with the notes. The text is: "ce, vox san - gui - nis fra - tris tu - i A - - - bel, vox". The music is in a homorhythmic style, with all voices moving in parallel motion. The notes are mostly half notes and whole notes, with some rests. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C).

incorporate either the *clausulae cantizans* or *Tenorizans*. The Discantus, Tenor and Bass all approach the final G with a descent from C, and all at different times.

The unusual divisions question the performance of the final piece. Singers would normally repeat at “*ecce*,” text which emphasizes the call of Abel’s blood for vengeance, but Lasso’s notation would not easily allow for singers to make the repeat. If a group wanted to do so, they would either have to remember their entrances at this location, or start the repeat at the only section provided at “*nescio domine*.” The use of more text changes removes this tight focus. Rather than Abel’s call for vengeance several times, Lasso’s repeat makes the purpose of this text more ambiguous. Lasso counteracts this effect, setting this text in homorhythm (see Musical Example 3.17), the same place that Resinarius and Kropstein used *redictae*. Unlike some of the homorhythmic sections of the other composers, Lasso synchronizes the text between the voices, clearly wanting the Latin-speaking members of his audience to understand this text. To further this purpose, Lasso repeats the music almost exactly, the only major change Lasso made was



move the notes sung by the Alto for the Quintus. Despite the sectional change, it would seem that Lasso still finds the call of Abel's blood to God important. While Catholics of the time might not have been able to use Cain as a type for their opponent, this story might be used by either side in any type of battle. The need for vengeance could come from the struggle with Protestants, in that year the Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots, was imprisoned in England. There is also another potential group that Cain might symbolize for Catholics. Throughout much of the sixteenth century, including the 1560s, southern Europe was at war with the Ottoman Empire. Certainly both of these explanations are possible, and the war with Ottoman Empire would seem to make a more likely candidate.

Lasso's setting includes several references to movement. The text of the first section begins with the first question God asks Cain: "Where is Abel?" Matching God's descent from Heaven to ask Cain this question, Lasso has the voices enter from highest to lowest. The second section begins with commixture which composers often used to represent movement.<sup>44</sup> Here, Lasso emphasizes the intervals of the fifth mode (transposed). In the first several *tacti*, the Bass, Tenor and Discantus outline the three central intervals: the octave from C to C, the fifth rising from C to G and the fourth between G up to C, respectively. While in mode eleven, Lasso uses short, quick scalar passages to set "*Domine*" (mm. 21-26; see Musical Example 3.18). While not all of the scalar passages are in one direction, they tend towards descent, indicating God's decent from Heaven to visit Cain. During the last few runs of shorter rhythms, the voices do not immediately return to mode seven, but rather pass briefly through mode one before and slowly settling into their final destination. The transition back to the original mode is again well

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<sup>44</sup> Meier, 286. See discussion on page 46.

## MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3.18: MOVING PASSAGES ON “DOMINE,” LASSO (MM. 21-26)

o, Do - mi - ne, ne - sci -

Ne - sci - o, Do - mi - ne,

o, Do - mi -

sci - o, Do - mi - ne, ne - sci - o, Do - mi -

o, ne - sci - o, Do - mi -

o, Do - mi - ne

ne - sci - o, Do - mi -

ne, ne - sci - o, Do -

ne, ne - sci - o, Do -

ne, ne - sci - o, Do - mi -

established by measure 43, which begins a different texture. All three cases (the opening entrances, commixture and quick rhythms) emphasize God's descent from heaven. The imitative entrances at the beginning of this setting consist of quick, descending rhythms on "*Domine*," again, implying God's descent to Earth.

The “*Ubi est Abel*” setting by Lasso uses fewer musico-rhetorical devices than the settings by Resinarius and Kropstein; he focuses on a few of these devices as compared to

Kropstein who seems to seem to employ an exhaust list in his setting. This is a natural choice given the considerably less musical space he has to fill. Despite this, Lasso still demonstrates several potential uses of the text, leaving the listener with a less well-defined message. As with the other two settings, Lasso uses the most distinctive setting for the text describing the call of Abel's blood than he does elsewhere. Additionally, Lasso emphasizes the gravity of the situation by emphasizing God's descent to Earth to question and punish Cain, who was of immoral character. The remaining sections of text featuring musical interpretations add little to its literal meaning.

## **CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSIONS**

All three composers' settings vary in length and the level to which their music alters the text's meaning. Overall there appear to be more similarities than differences in the portions of the biblical narrative that each of these composers emphasized. All of the settings feature the three characters mentioned in the text, but to different degrees. The first section of Resinarius' setting highlights God's and Cain's part in the story.<sup>1</sup> Kropstein's setting also features God and Cain in the first section, but then focuses on Abel's role in the second section.<sup>2</sup> Like the other two composers, Lasso also demonstrates God's role in the story, but Cain and Abel only receive direct musical attention from an exceptionally weak cadence and a melisma, respectively.<sup>3</sup> The scope of these pieces may be partially to blame. Kropstein's, being the largest, has the greatest amount of musical space to give attention to all three characters while Lasso's, about a quarter of the length as Kropstein's, has less space. Less space allows the composer fewer chances to give attention to specific words and phrases. Given limited chances, the composer must thus prioritize more than a composer whose work is considerably longer, which may reflect their actual use.

At first, the fact that these settings are of drastically different lengths seems as if it might imply that each of these three composers assigned a different amount of importance to this text. Kropstein certainly gave this piece much more attention, and therefore importance, than Resinarius, but this is much less likely the case for Lasso. The length of Lasso's setting may be simply determined by its use. Catholics practice calls the singing this responsory several times a week during Matins, whereas Protestants would have sung this text once a year, potentially for

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<sup>1</sup> See page 49-50.

<sup>2</sup> See page 60.

<sup>3</sup> See page 73.

Vespers. An experienced composer such as Lasso would not write an extended work if he knew that the same audience would have to listen to that setting many times in one week. Therefore, Lasso's shorter setting does not automatically imply that he found this setting less important than Resinarius and Kropstein. Comparing Resinarius and Kropstein, to say that Resinarius considered this piece less important than Kropstein would also be inaccurate. Firstly, one would have to consider all of these composers' works in comparison. These works seem to be typical lengths for the publications in which they are preserved and a more detailed look at their *oeuvre* would probably conclude the same. Furthermore, Kropstein's setting is inordinately long for the time in which it was composed, and may not have been intended for use within a service. Rather than asking why Resinarius' was shorter, one should inquire why Kropstein's is so long, a topic for future research. The reason could likely be its use outside of a liturgical setting. Conversely, though responsories were not always sung for Vespers, Rhau published Resinarius' settings to provide music on the occasion for which the church needed music for Vespers. While Resinarius might have meant these works to be used for services or devotion, Rhau published them specifically for liturgical use.<sup>4</sup>

A general survey of these works would seem to list the prominence of these three characters from the greatest amount of emphasis to the least in the following order: God (who is featured in all three), Cain, (who receives attention from both Kropstein's and Resinarius' setting), and finally Abel (who is only emphasized in Kropstein's.) This seems also to be the case in the individual works. Kropstein gives the greatest attention to God throughout, either through emphasis of His name or of His words. Abel receives the least attention in Kropstein's setting,

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<sup>4</sup> Mattfeld, *Georg Rhau's Publications for Vespers*, 194.

mostly only having any notability in the second section.<sup>5</sup> Resinarius also follows this hierarchy, largely excluding Abel from any musical attention.

However, the question remains, is this a direct result of theological views or simply a result of the text. It would seem logical for a Christian to give God greater importance than a person, however pious that person is.<sup>6</sup> This logic fails when one considers the relative prominence of Cain and Abel in this story, with the sinful brother's role more pronounced than the brother who the Catholic Church declared a saint. This means that Cain is more salient to the purpose of this message. All three composers seem to agree that this passage was not meant to show how one is to act, but what happens when one commits an evil act as Cain did. This agrees with both poems discussed in Chapter 1, especially the poem by Walther, *Wider die Cannischen Blutsverwandten*, which discusses the evils of Cain.<sup>7</sup> Looking at Lasso's setting, which does not prominently feature Cain, this purpose still holds; while his setting does give more importance to God, Lasso places the greatest amount of emphasis on His condemnation of Cain.<sup>8</sup> This would thus imply that the purpose of this responsory was to warn of the dangers of sin for both Catholic and Protestant services.

A profound similarity amongst the use of musical devices to represent foreignness or unnaturalness. There are two direct mentions of Abel's blood: "*vox sanguinis fratris tui*," and "*et suscepit sanguinem fratris tui*." Resinarius uses *redictae* to set both of these while Lasso and Resinarius set the first and second mentions, respectively.<sup>9</sup> The only mention of Abel's blood that was not set with *redictae* by these three composers is part of a section of commixture (by

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<sup>5</sup> See page 67.

<sup>6</sup> It might be telling to see if this was true with other texts that narrate stories in which God plays an active role.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix II under: *Wider die Cannischen Blutsverwandten*.

<sup>8</sup> See page 73.

<sup>9</sup> One should note, however, that Lasso's setting does not include the second mention of Abel's blood because it is part of the verse.

Kropstein). As previously mentioned, both of these compositional techniques imply something that is foreign.<sup>10</sup> The shared implication of the unnaturalness of murder indicates that this theme might have been a common trope in tellings of the Cain and Abel story. Certainly other uses of this story, such as Luther's poem,<sup>11</sup> call attention to the obscenity of murder, especially if the victim is devout and also the murderer's brother. The emphasis of the obscenity of murder reflects core christian beliefs stemming from the Ten Commandments, *ergo*, the presence of this theme is rather predictable.

Additionally, all of the composers chose to highlight the text "*sanguinis fratris tui Abel*," through *redictae* or the use of homorhythmic textures. Both of these are methods of clarifying the text. *Redictae* clarifies the text in the settings by Resinarius and Kropstein by having one voice recite the text unfettered by changing pitches. All three settings announce this text by having all voices declare the text together, though Lasso's is the only setting where all voices are synchronous with each other. This text is naturally dramatic without musical amplification: the call of a murdered man's blood pleading to God for justice. The desire for justice is timeless, and particularly timely for the Reformation, for both Catholics and Protestants. The two denominations were at war with each other, persecuted by one another and inevitably felt wronged by the other.

Further study of the use of Cain and Abel in musical works would certainly benefit from the inclusion of a greater number of works. Strong candidates would be Hollander's and Lemlin's settings for "*Ubi est Abel*" and other propaganda songs. As politics pertinent to the

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<sup>10</sup> Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony*, 317-22. The use of *redicta* for this text is especially appropriate because of its connotation of ancientness, which might have given a sense of timelessness to the story. As previously mentioned, the original chant for "*Ubi est Abel*" does sustain an A for the first mention and the recitation tone, D, for the second. The suggestion of *redicta* in the chant may be the inspiration for all three composers.

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix II under: *Ein Newes Lied Wir Haven An*.

Reformation are of specific interest to this study, the inclusion of and comparison to settings of other periods has potential to demonstrate the change in perception of the brothers' story over time. Non-musical texts not included here would also add to an understanding of this role of this story in the sixteenth century. In addition to Luther, many other Reformation theologians, both Catholic and Protestant, use the Cain and Abel story. While the use of this story in theological work ranges from small mentions to long and detailed exegesis, there were many different uses of this story by theologians. Similarly, there are several propagandistic works which use this story to convey its message. As the responsories were the *raison d'être* of this study, it only briefly covers two specific non-liturgical song lyrics. Several others utilize metaphors featuring Cain and Abel. Other forms of Reformation and Counter-Reformation propaganda would be equally useful.

Despite this study's focus on Cain and Abel, the author seeks to address a greater purpose. By looking at writings and works discussing or referencing specific character, events, ideas, etc., whether sacred or secular, one can begin to understand both how that specific subject was viewed during the period, and how it influenced communication. Such is the case with the common use of this text by the composer to share what teach what happens when one sins. The current study demonstrates the possibilities of this model for a specific religious topic within the Christian Church, as well as some of the difficulties and limitations one faces when attempting such an endeavor.



## APPENDIX A: ORIGINAL AND VULGATE TEXTS

### VULGATE

Genesis 4: 3-16:

[3] Factum est autem post multos dies ut offerret Cain de fructibus terrae munera Domino. [4] Abel quoque obtulit de primogenitis gregis sui, et de adipibus eorum; et respexit Dominus ad Abel, et ad munera eius. [5] Ad Cain vero, et ad munera illius non respexit: iratusque est Cain vehementer, et concidit vultus eius. [6] Dexitque Dominus ad eum: Quare iratus es? et cur concidit facies tua? [7] Nonne si bene egeris, recipies: sin autem male, statim in foribus peccatum aderit? sed sub te erit apperitus eius et tu dominaberis illius.

[8] Dixitque Cain ad Abel fratrem suum: Egrediamur foras. Cumque essent in agro consurrexit Cain adversus fratrem suum Abel, et interfecit eum.

[9] Et ait Dominus ad Cain: Ube ist Abel frater tuus? Qui respondit: Nescio: Num custos fratris mei sum ego? [10] Dixitque ad eum: Quid fecisti? vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra. [11] Nunc igitur maledictus eris super terram, quae aperuit os suum, et suscepit sanguinem fratris tui de manu tua. [12] Cum operatus fueris eam, non dabit tibi fructus suos: vagus et profugus eris super terram.

[13] Dixitque Cain ad Dominum: Majior est iniquitas mea, quam ut veniam merear. [14] Ecce eiicis me hodie a facie terrae. et a facie tua abscondar, et ero vagus et profugus in terra: omnis igitur qui invenerit me, occidet me. [15] Dixitque ei Dominus: Nequaquam ita fiet: sed omnis qui occiderit Cain, septuplum punietur. Posuitque Dominus Cain signum, ut non interficeret eum omnis qui invenisset eum. [16] Egressusque Cain a facie Domini, habitavit profugus in terra ad orientalem plagam Eden.<sup>1</sup>

### FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

Augustine. *Commentary on the Psalms*. Psalm VIII.

Chapter 12.

“Si enim unam ovem lapsam humanam animam accipiamus in Adam, quia etiam Eva de illius latere facta est, quorum omnium spiritualiter tractandorum et

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<sup>1</sup> Vulgatam Clementinam, 6-7.

considerandorum nunc tempus non est, restat ut nonaginta novem relictæ in montibus, non humani, sed angelici spiritus intelligantur.”<sup>2</sup>

Chapter 13. (from pg. 10n10)

“Campus est enim etiam lata via, quæ ducit ad iteritum; et in campo Abel occiditur. Quare metuendum est, ne quisque descendens a montibus justitiæ Dei, Justitia enim, inquit, tua velut montes Dei, latitudines et facilitates voluptatis carnalis eligens, a diabolo trucidetur.”<sup>3</sup>

Anonymous. *Genesis* (from pg. 14)

Hi cum perpetuo ferrent sua dona Tonanti,  
Dissimiles fructus sensu suadente dedere.  
Nam prior uberibus fuerant quæ prosata glebis,  
Obtulit; ast alius miti se devovet agno,  
Extâ manu sincera gerens, adipemque nivalem;  
Confestimque placet Domino pae vota tuenti.  
Quod propter gelida Cain incanduit ira.  
Quem Deus adloquio dignatus, talibus insit:  
Dic mihi, si rectum vivas, et noxia cernas,  
Degere non possis contracto a crimine purus?  
Desine mordaci fratrem disperdere sensu;  
Qui tibi ceu Domino subjectus colla daturus.  
Nec tamen hinc fractus, fratrem deducit ad arva,  
Atque ubi deprehensum deserto in gramine vidit,  
Elidit geminis frangens pia guttura palmis.<sup>4</sup>

Ambrose. *Of Cain and Abel*. Book 1.

Chapter II

Duæ gentes in utero tuo sunt, et duo populi de ventre tuo exhibunt. Hæc figura Synagogæ et Ecclesiæ in his duobus fratribus ante præcessit Cain et Abel. Per Cain parricidialis populus intelligitur Judæorum, qui Domini et auctoris sui et secundum Mariæ virginis partum fratris, ut ita dicam, sanguinem persecutus est.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> J. P. Migne. *PL* volume 36: *Augustini, Hipponensis Episcopi, Opera Omnia*, 114. Enarrationes in Psalmos: In Psalmum VIII (12)

<sup>3</sup> J. P. Migne. *PL* volume 36: *Augustini, Hipponensis Episcopi, Opera Omnia*, 115. Enarrationes in Psalmos: In Psalmum VIII (13)

<sup>4</sup> Migne, J. P., *PL* Vol 2. Quinti Septimii Florentis Tertulliani Presbyteri Carthaginensis Opera Omnia, 1102. Appendix Prima: Incerti Auctoris Genesis.

<sup>5</sup> J. P. Migne. *PL* Vol 14 Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi Opera Omnia. Paris, Migne, Succursaliste A Montrouge, de Vrayet de Surcy, Imprimeur, 1845. 318. In *De Cain et Abel Librer Primus*.

## Chapter VII

Tertium genus est peccati quidem minoris, sed supparis arrogantiae eorum scilicet qui datorem bonorum Deum non negant: sed quæ acciderint, ea sibi propter prudentiam suam, cæterarumque merita virtutum jure delata arbitrantur. Propterea etiam divina dignos habitos gratia, quod nequaquam viderentur indigni quibus talia divinis beneficciis provenirent.<sup>6</sup>

Commodianus. *The Instructions of Commodianus*, XXXVI. “Of the foolishness of the cross.”

“Cain juniorem occidit, nequam repertus:  
Inde Enoch suboles Cainæa nati feruntur.  
Sic gens iniqua increvit mundo, quæ nunquam  
Transmittit animos in Deum : credere crucem  
Venit in horrorem, et dicunt se viere rect.  
Lex in ligno fuit prima, et inde secunda.  
Terribilem legem primo, cum pace revenit.  
In prævaricationes vanas elati ruerunt :  
Trajectum clavis Dominum cognoscere nolunt :  
Judicium cujus cum venerit, ibi dignoscent.  
Abel genus autem credit modo Christo benigno.”<sup>7</sup>

## MARTIN LUTHER

### Lectures on Genesis

#### Chapter 3.6

“est hominis non simpliciter sed extreme mali, qui sanguinarius est, et tamen est Hypocrita et vult Sanctus videri, vult Deum potius accusare, quam ut videatur accusatione dignus. Sic omnes Hypocritæ faciunt: blasphemant Deum et Filium Dei crucifigunt. Et tamen volunt iusti esse.”<sup>8</sup>

#### Chapter 4 Introduction

“Eam cum maxima Interpretum pars non curaret, et Origenem, Dionysium aliosque pluris quam ipsum Mosen faceret, merito aberrarunt. Quæ iam sequuntur, minus disputationum habent, et planiora sunt. Ac etiam in eo patrocinantur nostræ sententiæ, quod nemo non videt Mosen non voluisse Allegorias proponere sed simpliciter primi mundi historiam scribere.”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> J. P. Minge. *PL Vol 14 Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi Opera Omnia*. Paris, Migne, Succursaliste A Montrouge, de Vrayet de Surcy, Imprimeur, 1845, 329. In *De Cain et Abel Librer Primus*.

<sup>7</sup> Patrologia Latinae, J. P. Migne, volume 5, XXXVI. De Crucis Stultitiain *Commodiani Instructiones Adversus Gentium Deos: Pro Christiana Disciplina : Per Litteras Versuum Primas*, 228

<sup>8</sup> Martin Luther, “Lectures on Genesis,” 205.

<sup>9</sup> Martin Luther, “Lectures on Genesis,” 176.

#### Chapter 4.9

“Est igitur Cain pater omnium istorum homicidarum, qui occidunt Sanctos nec statuunt modum irae, donec adhuc pilus de eis superest, sient etiam Christi exemplum testatur. Nam de Cain non dubium est, quin sperarit Habel extincto gloriam Primogeniturae se retenturum esse. Ita impii crudelitatem putant sibi profuturam. Sed cum postea sentiunt frustra fuisse spem, in desperationem prolabuntur.”<sup>10</sup>

#### Chapter 4.9

“Iureconsulti quoque usurparunt hunc locum et satis digne tractarunt, quod Dominus, priusquam damnet, inquit de negotio. Id eo applicant, quod nemo sit damnandus, nisi prius cognita causa sit, nisi prius sit vocatus, confessus et convictus. Sicut supra de Adam Quoque est: ‘Et vocavit Adam, et ait: Ubi es tu?’ Et infra 11.: ‘Descendit Dominus, ut videret’ etc.”<sup>11</sup>

#### Chapter 4.10

“sic Papa et Episcopi unam hanc viam habent reliquam, ut agnoscant peccatum suum et petant remissionem. Hoc cum non faciunt, requirit Deus in furore ex manibus eorum sanguinem piorum. De hoc nemo dubitet. Habel occisus est, Cain autem vivit. Sed, bone Deus, quam miserabilem vitam vivit. Nam optaret se nunquam esse natum, quod et se excommunicari audit, et expectat mortem et vindictam peccati in singula momenta. Similis erit adversariorum nostrorum et tyrannorum Ecclesiae fortuna suo tempore.”<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Martin Luther, “Lectures on Genesis,” 207.

<sup>11</sup> Martin Luther, “Lectures on Genesis,” 210.

<sup>12</sup> Martin Luther, “Lectures on Genesis,” 213-14.

## APPENDIX B: PROPAGANDA SONGS

### *EIN NEWES LIED WIR HEVEN AN (1523)*<sup>1</sup>

1. Ein neues lied wir heven an,  
Des walt Gott unser Herre  
Au singen was Gott hat gethan  
zu seinem lob und ehre,  
Zu Brüssel in dem Niderland  
wol durch zween junge knaben  
Hat er sein wunder macht bekand,  
die er mit seinen Gaben  
So reichlich hat gezieret.

2. Der erst recht wol Johannes heisst,  
So reich an Gottes hulden,  
Sein Bruder Heinrich nach dem Geist,  
Ein rechter Christ on schulden  
Von dieser Welt gescheiden sind,  
Sie han die Kron erworben,  
Recht wie die fromen Gottes kind,  
Für sein Word sind gestorben,  
Sein Merterer sind sie worden.

3. Der alte Feind sie sangen lies,  
Erschreckt sie lang mit drewen,  
Das Wort Gotts man sie leucken hies,  
Mit list auch wolt sie teuben,  
Von Löwen der Sophisten viel,  
Mit jrer Kunst verloren,  
Versamlet er zu diesem Spiel,  
Der Geist sie macht zu Thoren,  
Sie Kundten nichts gewinnen.

4. Sie sungen süß, sie sungen sawr,  
Verfuchten manche listen,  
Die Knaben stunden wie ein Mawr,  
Verachten die Sophisten  
Den alten Feind das seer verdros,

We raise a new song,  
may our Lord God help us  
to sing what He has done  
to his glory and honour  
in Brussels, in the Netherlands.  
Indeed, through two young men  
He has made His wonders known,  
[and] with His gifts  
He has adorned them richly.

Indeed, the first was named John,  
so rich in God's grace.  
His brother Heinrich, according to the Spirit,  
was a proper innocent Christian.  
From this world they have been taken,  
They have earned the crown  
just like pious children of God,  
they have died for His word,  
they have become His martyrs.

The ancient fiends sang softly,  
and terrified them with threats.  
The denied the Word of God  
and tried to deafen [the youths] with cunning.  
From Louvain, the many sophists,  
lost in their artifice,  
gathered together for the game,  
[but] the Spirit makes fools of them,  
they could not win.

The sang sweetly, they sang sourly,  
and tried many tricks.  
The youths stood like a wall  
despising the sophists.  
It greatly annoyed the old fiend

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<sup>1</sup> Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2001), 260-263.

Das er was überwunden,  
Von solchen Jungen er so gros,  
Er ward vol zorn von stunden,  
Gedacht sie zuuerbrennen.

5. Sie raubten in das Klosterkleid,  
Die Weih sie jn auch namen,  
Die Knaben waren des bereit,  
Sie sprachen frölich Amen,  
Sie danckten jrem Vater Gott,  
Das sie los solten werden,  
Des Teufels Laruen spiel und Spot,  
Darin durch falsche Berden,  
Die Welt er gar betrenget.

6. Du schickt Gott durch sein Gnad also,  
Das sie recht Priester worden  
Sich selbs jm musten opffern da,  
Und gehn in Christen orden,  
Der welt gantz abgestorben sein,  
Die Heucheley ablegen,  
Zum Himmel komen frey und rein,  
Die Müncherey ausfegen,  
Und menschen tand die lassen.

7. Man schrieb Jn für ein brieffin klein,  
Das hies man sie selbs lesen,  
Die stück sie zeichten alle drein,  
Was jr Glaub war gewesen,  
Der höchste jrrthum dieser war,  
Man mus allein Gott gleuben,  
Der Mensch leugt und treugt jmerdar,  
Dem sol man nichts vertrauen,  
Des musten sie verbrennen.

8. Zwey grosse Fewr sie zündten an,  
Die knaben sie herbrachten,  
Es nam gros wunder jederman,  
Das sie solch Pein verachten,  
Mit freuden sie sich gaben drein,  
Mit Gottes lob und singen,  
Der mut ward den Sophisten klein,  
Für diesen neuen dingen,  
Das sich Gott lies so mercken.

that he was defeated  
by such boys, he, so great!  
He was full of great rage,  
and decided to burn them.

They tore the vestments from them  
and also their consecrations.  
The youths were ready,  
they said joyfully, 'Amen.'  
They thanked their Father God  
that they would be freed  
from the Devil's games and mockery  
with which, in false appearances,  
he had completely deceived the world.

Then God granted through His grace  
that they might become proper priests.  
The must offer themselves up  
and enter Christ's order,  
being completely dead to the world,  
setting aside hypocrisy,  
coming to Heaven free and pure,  
cleansed of monkery,  
and leaving behind human deeds.

They wrote a short statement for the youths  
and asked them to read it.  
On it was everything  
that was their belief.  
Their greatest error was this:  
'One must believe in God alone;  
human always lie and deceive,  
so one should not trust in them.'  
For that, they had to burn.

They ignited two great fires  
and brought the youths to them.  
It was a great wonder to everyone  
that they disregarded such pain.  
With joy they gave themselves up  
with praises of God and singing.  
The sophist's courage failed at this,  
seeing the new things  
that God allowed them to witness

9. Der schimpff sie nu gerewet hat,  
Sie woltens gern schön machen,  
Sie thüren nicht rhümen sich der that,  
Sie bergen fast die sachen,  
Die schand im Herten beisset sie,  
Und klagens jrn genossen,  
Doch kan der Geist nicht schweigen hie,  
Des Habels blut vergossen,  
Es mus den Cain melden.

10. Die asschen wil nicht lassen ab,  
Sie steubt in allen landen,  
His hilfft dein bach, loch, grub noch grab,  
Sie macht den Feind zu schanden,  
Die er im Leben durch den Mord,  
Zu schweigen hat gedrungen,  
Die mus er tod an allem ort,  
Mit aller stim und zungen,  
Gar frölich lassen singen.

11. Noch lassen sie jr Lügen nicht,  
Den grossen Mord zu schmücken,  
Sie geben für ein falsch getricht,  
Ir Gwissen thut sie drücken,  
Die heiligen Gotts auch nach dem Tod,  
Von jn gelestert werden,  
Sie sagen in der letzten not,  
Die knaben noch auff Erden,  
Sich solln haben umbkeret.

12. Die las man liegen imer hin,  
Sie haben keinen fromen,  
Wir sollen dancken Gott darin,  
Sein Wort ist widerkomen,  
Der Somer ist hart für den thür,  
Der Winter ist vergangen,  
Die zarten Blümlin gehn enfür,  
Der das hat angefangen,  
Der wird es wol volenden. Amen.

Now they regretted the mockery,  
and wished to make everything well.  
They did not want word to spread,  
and try to bury the story.  
Shame bites their hearts,  
and they mourn and deed to their friends,  
but the Spirit cannot be silent.  
Abel's blood was poured out,  
and Cain must pay.

Their ashes will not go away,  
they spread in all lands.  
No stream, hole, ditch nor grave stops them,  
they bring shame on the fiend  
who, in life, had forced them  
to be silent by murder.  
He must hear them in death in all places,  
with all voices and tongues  
singing quite joyfully.

But they will not leave their lies;  
to ornament the great murder  
they send around a false story.  
Their consciences must bother them.  
Even after death, the saints of God  
are slandered by them.  
They say that in their final need,  
while still on earth, the youths  
recanted their statements.

Let them go on lying forever,  
it is of no use.  
We shall thank God  
because His Word has come again  
Summer is at the door,  
winter is past,  
and the sweet flowers are in bloom.  
He who was at the beginning  
will be at the end. Amen

## WIDER DIE CANNISCHEN BLUTSV ERWANDTEN (1544)<sup>2</sup>

1. Cain sich aber regen thut,  
er mus doch allzeit fechten  
Widder Abel, sein eigen blut  
bringt er von seinem rechten,

Welchs im geben hat  
der Herr und Gott,  
durch das trew wort sein  
geholfen im aus pein:  
das mag er nicht geniessen.

2. Es ist zuthun umb zeitlich gut,  
das jagt sie also seere,  
Darumb treibens viel ubermt,  
rauben sampt dem die ehre.

Dann solchs wircht der neid,  
nicht achten der zeit,  
die Gott geben hat,  
erzeigt sein gnad:  
thut Cain hart verdriessen.

3. Darumb im solchs nicht gefallen lest  
und meint, er wols ausreuten,  
helt nur das für das aller best  
wes er wird weis von leuten,

Düncken sich fast klug,  
als hetten sie fug  
zu dempfen Gottes wort,  
und faren imer fort,  
auch widder ir Gewissen.

4. Wenn aber schreit her Abels blut,  
so schleust Gott auff sein ohren,  
Das Cain dem so ubel thut  
welchen er hat erkoren,

Wils schlechts dulden nicht,  
darumb bald abbricht  
dem Feind seinen grim,  
erhort die elend stim  
mit klag und threnen fliessen.

Though Cain executed his act,  
he still must forever fight  
against Abel, his own blood  
[who] he brings [away] from his rights.

Which by sentencing [him] had  
the Lord and God,  
[declared] the true word to be  
upheld with torment:  
which [man] may not enjoy.

It shows expediency  
therefore to hunt them earnestly,  
with mighty and very high spirit  
goes along with honor.

Since such acts of envy,  
do not show [the] patience  
which God has given,  
bestowed by His mercy,  
which Cain resents.

Wherefore such a favor he did not read  
and think, he wants salvation,  
held only that for all the best  
he who would have known from people,

If one thinks himself somewhat wise,  
then one holds rightly  
to impede on God's word,  
and travel forever forward,  
even against their [own] knowledge.

However when [he] wrote with Abel's blood,  
and so shepherd God from his eyes,  
that Cain it so nastily done  
which he had chosen.

Wants bad things tolerate not  
around? soon end (break off)  
the enemy of his fury,  
hear the wretched voice  
wailing and shedding tears.

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<sup>2</sup> Philipp Wackernagel, *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied von der Ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts* vol. 3 (Reinheim, Germany: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964), 184-185. My translation.



5. Also auch noch auff diese stund  
vorlest er nicht die seinen  
So ruffen aus irs herken grund,  
ir not klagen mit weinen,  
    Erledigt er bald,  
steurt unrecht und gewalt,  
strafft auch also hart  
dieselb Cannisch art,  
das sie sein huld verliessen.

6. Bedenkt das wol, ir hansen gros,  
den armen last auch bleiben,  
Wolt ir nicht werden Teuffels gnos  
und ewig zeit vertreiben  
    Inn der hellen not  
leiden peen und spot,  
dann ewr selbst schmach  
wird folgen kurtz hernach,  
weil Danid stürkt den Riesen.

So too even on this hour  
he does not admit his state [that]  
So calls out his heart [from the] ground,  
they need wailing with crying,  
    Finishes he soon  
control/lead wrongly and violently,  
tighten also therefore hard  
the same Cainish sort,  
that they his hold (devoutly) abandon.

[They] cover their large wounds well,  
but the poor burden remains,  
they will not want the devil's mysteries  
and eternal time to drive out.

    [Those] in the light evil  
suffer pain and mockery,  
than your guilt  
will follow shortly after that  
because David fortified the great [city].<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Referring to Jerusalem.

**APPENDIX C:**  
**KROPSTEIN’S “*UBI EST ABEL*”**

CRITICAL REPORT

In several cases, rests have been written above the staff which appear to be either breves or minims. In every case, this transcription notates them as if they were minims. These rests occur in the following measures (There are none present in the Tenor):

Discantus: 32, 216, 236, 238, 255, 260, 262.

Quintus: 31, 33, 36, 38, 71, 114, 201, 208, 260, 270.

Alto: 8, 25, 40, 42, 83, 94, 97, 162, 234.

Bass: 175, 258.

Additionally, the manuscript uses two variant spellings for “Cain” in measures fifty through fifty-six (either as “*Chayn*” or “*Cayn*”). For purposes of this transcription, these variant spellings have been modernized.

SCORE

# "Ubi est Abel"

Nicolaus Kropstein  
trans. Jason Senchina

Discantus

Quintus

Altus

Tenore

Bassus

5

U - - - bi est

U - - bi est A -

U -

U - - -

U - - - - bi est

10

A - - bel A - - - - -

- - - - - bel A - - - -

- - bi est A - - - - bel A - -

- bi est A - - - - - bel

U - bi est A - - bel U - bi est A - bel

15

bel fra - - - ter fra - -

- bel fra - ter fra - - - - -

- - - - - bel fra - - ter

fra - - - ter

fra - - - ter

20

- ter tu - - - - us

- ter tu - - - - us

fra - - - - ter tu - - - -

tu - - - -

tu - - us frat - - - ter

25

tu - - - - # - - - - # - - - - us tu -

tu - - - - # - - - - # - - - - us tu -

us tu - - - - - us tu -

- - - - - us

tu - - - - us tu - - - - us tu - - - -

30

The musical score consists of five staves, each representing a different voice part. The lyrics are written below the corresponding staff.

Soprano: us tu - us di - xit do - mi - nus di -  
Alto: us tu - us di - xit do - mi - nus di - xit do - mi -  
Tenor 1: us Di - xit Di - xit do - mi - nus Di - xit  
Tenor 2: di - - xit do - - - -  
Bass: us di - xit do - mi - nus di - xit

35 40

- xit do-mi-nus do-mi-nus

nus di-xit do-mi-nus do - - - - -

do-mi-nus di-xit do-mi-nus do-mi-nus do - - - - -

- - - - - mi - - - - nus

do-mi-nus di-xit do - - - - - mi-nus di -

45

mi - nus do - - - mi - nus do - - - mi - nus do - - - mi - nus do - - - mi -

50

ad Ca - - - - -  
 - - - - - mi - nus di - xit do - mi - nus ad Ca - - - - -  
 - - - - - mi - - - - - nus ad Ca - - - - -  
 nus do - - - - - mi - nus ad

55 # #

in  
 in ad Ca - in: ne - - - - -  
 in ad Ca - in: ne - - - - -  
 Ca - - - - - in ne -

60

ne - - - - - sci - o ne - sci -  
 in ne - sci - o ne - sci - o  
 - sci - o ne - - - - - sci -  
 ne - - - - - sci - o  
 - sci - o ne - - - - - sci - -

65

-o ne - sci - o do -  
do - mi - ne do - mi -  
do - mi - ne  
do - mi - ne  
do -

70

mi - ne  
ne do - mi - ne num -  
do - mi - ne  
- mi - ne  
mi - ne do -

75

do - mi - ne num - quid cu -  
- quid cu - stos cu - stos  
mi - ne  
num - quid  
mi - ne num - quid cu - stos

80 # 85

num - quid cu - stos cu - stos fra - tris

num - quid cu - stos num - quid cu - stos

90

fra - tris fra - tris me - i sum fra - tris me - i sum fra - tris

me - i sum fra - tris me - i sum fra - tris me - i sum fra -

- stos fra - tris me - i sum fra - tris me - i sum fra -

fra - tris me - i sum

fra - tris me - i sum fra - tris me - i sum fra -

95 #

me - i sum e - go

tris me - i sum e - go sum e -

- tris me - i sum e - go Et

e - go

- tris me - i sum e - go et



100

Et di - xit ad e - - - go Et di - - - xit Et di - xit di - xit ad e - - - et di - - - xit di - xit ad e - - - um et di - - - xit ad

105

ad e - - - um ad e - - - um ad e - - - um ad e - - - um ad e - - - um ad e - - - um

110

115

um quid fe - ci - sti quid fe - ci - sti quid quid - um quid fe - ci - sti quid

120

quid fe - ci - sti quid fe - ci - sti fe - ci - sti quid fe - ci - sti quid fe - ci - sti

125

ci - sti quid fe - ci - sti quid fe - ci - sti quid fe - ci - sti

130 135

stis Ec - ce vox Ec - ce

140

Ec - - ce vox

Ec - - ce vox

Ec - - ce vox

Ec - - ce vox

Ec - - ce vox

145

Ec - - ce vox san - qui - nis fra -

Ec - ce vox san - - - - - gui

san - - - - - qui - nis

- ce vox san - - - - - gui - nis

Ec - - - - - ce vox san - gui - nis san -

150

- - tris tu - - - - -

nis fra - - - - - tris tu - -

fra - tris tu - - - - - i tu - - - - -

fra - - - - - tris tu - - - - - i

- gui - nis fra - - - - - tris tu - - - - - i

[illegible]

160

A - - - - -

- - - - - bel A - - - - - bel A - - - - - bel cla-

- - - - - bel

- - - - -

- bel A - - - - -

170

ad me ad

mat ad

mat ad me

-mat ad me ad

175

me

me ad me de

ad me ad me de

me ad me ad

180

185

de ter - ra de ter -

ter - ra de ter -

ter - ra de ter -

de ter -

me de ter - ra de ter -

190

- ra - de - ter - - ra - de - ter - - ra

195

Ma - le - di - - - - - cta

Ma - le - di - - - - - cta

Ma - le - di -

Ma - le -

200

Ma - le - di - cta ma - le -

ma - le - di - cta ma - le -

cta M - le - di - M -

di - cta ma-

205 210

di - - cta ter - re in o - pe -

di - - - cta ter - ra in o - pe -

le - di - - - cta ter - ra in

le - di - - - cta te - ra -

le - di - - - cta te - ra in

215

re in o - pe - re in o - pe - re tu -

re in o - pe - re in o - - - - pe - - - -

o - pe - re in o - pe - - - re in o - pe - re

in o - - - pe - - - - re

o - pe - re in o - pe - re in o - pe - re

220

- re

tu - - - - - o

tu - - - - -

in o - pe - re tu - - - - -

225

tu - - - - - o que

tu - - - - - o que

o que

o

o tu - - - - - o que

230

que

o que que

que a - pe -

que a -

que que a -

235 240

a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it os -

a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it

- ru - it a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it os -

- pe - - - - - ru - - - - - it os su - -

- pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it a - pe - ru - it os



245

su - um et su -  
 os su - - - - - um Et su - sce - -  
 su - - - - - - - - - - - um et su -  
 - - - - - - - - - - - um  
 su - - - - - - - - - - - um Et su - sce -

250

sce - - - pit san - gui - nem fra - - - tris  
 - pit san - - - - - gui - nem fra - - - tris  
 - sce - - - - - pit san - - - - - gui - nem  
 - - - - - - - - - - -  
 - - - - - pit san - gui - nem fra - - - - - tris

255

tu - - - i de ma - - -  
 tu - - - - - i de ma - - -  
 fra - - - tris tu - - - - - i de  
 de  
 tu - - - i de ma - - - - - nu

260

nu de ma - nu de ma - nu tu - a  
 - nu de ma - nu de ma - nu tu - a  
 ma - nu de ma - nu de - -  
 ma - - - nu  
 ma - - - - - nu tu - - -

265

- nu tu - a de ma - nu  
 de ma - nu tu - a de ma - nu tu - a  
 - ma - - - nu tu - - -  
 tu - - -  
 - - - a tu - - a de ma - nu tu -

270

tu - a de ma - nu tu - a tu - a  
 a de ma - nu tu - a  
 a tu - - -  
 a de ma - nu tu - a

musical score for five staves, likely representing a vocal ensemble or choir. The notation includes notes, rests, and lyrics. The lyrics are: - a, - - - - - a, - - - - - a, a, tu - - - - - a.

Staff 1: Treble clef, whole notes, lyrics: - a

Staff 2: Treble clef, eighth notes, lyrics: - - - - - a

Staff 3: Treble clef, eighth notes, lyrics: - - - - - a

Staff 4: Treble clef, whole notes, lyrics: a

Staff 5: Bass clef, eighth notes, lyrics: tu - - - - - a

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